



**VIOLENCE AFFECTING FAMILY AND WOMEN
IN CONTEMPORARY KASHMIR: A CASE
STUDY OF ANANTNAG J & K**

**ABSTRACT
THESIS**

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

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By

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The term violence has gained currency during present times. Although little violence is a feature of every society, but the prolonged violence accompanied by use of brute force is a form of extreme violence which results in the defilement of bodies, families at micro level and societies at large. The usage of term 'violence' in English has come from Latin word "violētia: vis (force) and latus (past participle of 'to carry'))" to describe 'exercise of physical force against someone who is thereby interrupted or disturbed' and interfered with rudely or roughly or desecrated, dishonored, profaned or defiled. But the definitions of violence have been extended to encompass the personal, the institutional and the cultural, this way to account for the satisfaction of human needs, thus making it indistinguishable from terms like 'harm', 'misery', 'alienation', 'cultural discrimination', and 'repression'.

The first thing that comes to our mind when we speak of violence is pain which is not involuntary, but voluntary .i.e., deliberately caused by some agent. There is certain sort of coercion involved, but it is definitely illegitimate and socially unacceptable

Blackburn defines violence as "action that injures or destroys that to which it is applied". Ruddick further elaborates "in central cases, it is people who are damaged. However, it is also possible and some believe equally serious to act violently towards non-human animals and the natural world. Violence is, therefore, coercive or destructive behavior exhibiting force or destruction on what it is desired at, it is also disorderly, turbulent, and unlawful in its functioning. Gatting (1969) gives us a somewhat broad definition of violence as "violence includes any action or inaction by people which prevent others from living a

complete life". The definition not only takes into account use of force and destruction, but also takes into account deprivation of chances of life of an individual or a group under the purview of violence.

Violence is relative in the sense that it varies from culture to culture, from time to time and from group to group. Nature and type of violence is culture specific.

There has been long and widespread debate among social theorists regarding the models of societies, the way societies operate or function, remain stable and gradually change. The present concern draws our attention to equilibrium and conflict models of the society. We need not go into the details of these models, but as Alex Inkeles points out actual society is a balance between equilibrium and conflict models of society. So, in equilibrium model a formal use of violence in terms of certain institutional mechanisms maintains order, which is the other way round in conflict model, where violence is used as a tool against Out-group so that it brings order and integration in the In-group.

At a lower level we can witness the play of violence in innumerable social processes, the flows and exchanges of action and reaction, with which sociology is concerned. These include stratification, differentiation, cooperation, competition and conflict.

Violence is socially constructed. It means that it is a collectivity on the basis of its norms and values, which determines an act to be violent or nonviolent. From the fact that violence is socially constructed we may move to a simpler fact that violence is culturally determined. There is inter-cultural variation between societies that results in the varied conception and identification of the violent acts.

Violence is also politically directed. Although it may not be the case always, it is basically the group violence or violence involving collectivities where violence is politically directed. The violence in such cases is guided by an ideology, which is super individual. It draws clear cut battle lines between the opposing groups.

The area of my interest is the valley of Kashmir (district of Anantnag being the unit of my study), the unresolved dispute between the two close neighbours India and Pakistan, simply an offshoot of the black day of partition. Though Kashmir is often dubbed as paradise on earth, but for the past almost two decades valley has been torn by the continuous violence going on its land, thus snatching its beauty and peace. The bloody gunfights, grenade attacks, IED blasts, landmines and occasional suicide bombings have become order of the day. The local armed militia sometimes backed by acolytes from neighbouring Pakistan and Afghanistan, the specialists in guerilla warfare are involved in open confrontations with Indian troops. It is a sort of cold war going on between the two close neighbours India and Pakistan and unfortunate battle ground is the valley of Kashmir, where guns keep blazing in streets, markets and sometimes in the courtyards of the houses of local populace. The ultimate victims of this violence happen to be the people of Kashmir, who suffer physically, socially, economically and emotionally, simply the worst sufferers. The people have suffered at the hands of both the parties to violence i.e., government forces and militants. Besides acting against militants in the counter insurgency operations, government forces commit human rights violations on local people at will. They have been bestowed with special powers by the state like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) and Disturbed Areas Act (DAA), which grants them impunity to commit any

atrocious act at will. The armed government forces are involved in cordons, firings, custodial deaths, deliberate killings, crossfire killings, razing of houses, rape, frisking, torture, interrogation, detention, enforced disappearance, raids, beating, outraging modesty. Simply they have got license to commit every atrocious act and are unleashing a reign of terror on local populace. It clearly shows the institutionalization of violence, where violence is used as a tool to crush the resistance. The armed guerillas fighting for the independence of Kashmir have got a formidable support from local population. They are involved in firings, bombings, kidnappings, killings as part of their operational tactics but the victims of this violence besides troops are local people also, who lose kith and kin, property, business, undergo deformities and become fearful and terrorized. The militants happen to target government informers, civil servants, politicians and renegades often, but they also happen to be the Kashmiris first, thereby affecting a Kashmiri family and a Kashmiri woman in particular. The sad part of the story is that whether a militant, a policeman, a counter insurgent or a common man is killed, it is always a Kashmiri family, a Kashmiri woman, a Kashmiri child who suffers one way or the other way. This vicious circle of violence has become order of the day in contemporary Kashmir, thus making hell out of the paradise.

It is in this background the present study has been conducted in the south Kashmir district of Anantnag, which has been the hub of insurgency and counter insurgency operations. The Anantnag has been in the news most of the times during these years of conflict for the violent acts committed by various agencies involved in violence. District Anantnag is situated in the south and south western direction of the Kashmir valley. Geographically the district lies between 33°-20' to

34°-15' north latitude and 74°-30' to 75°-35' east longitude, bounded in the north and north-west by Srinagar and Pulwama districts respectively and in the north east by Kargil district. It is also bounded by Doda and Kishtwar tehsil of Doda district in the east and south east. The district is at a distance of 55 kms from the state capital Srinagar with an area of 3984 Sq. Kms. According to census 2001 the population of the district is 11.70 lacs. The people of the district are mostly engaged in agriculture, principal crops being Rice and Maize. The districts comprises of 5 Tehsils and 12 community development blocks.

The sample population under study has been collected from five tehsils of the district namely Kulgam, Pahalgam, Bijbehara, Anantnag and Dooru. The effect of violence on family and women in the armed violence has been worked out and it will be an exploratory work in this regard as no in depth study is yet available and the literature is limited, although there is abundance of it in the political and historical context. Because the area has remained hitherto unexplored, so the need for exploratory research design is justified. Exploratory studies represent the earlier stage of science. Path breaking explorations are particularly complex affairs. It is like starting from a scratch without guide posts or yard sticks. The only resource available is the concepts that researcher can borrow from other fields or from common language. He needs to create his own guide posts and schemes of classification.

The 13 month field work has been carried out between October 2006 and November 2007. Before the field work a detailed literature review on violence and its effects was conducted which helped the researcher to formulate the research

problem. The data has been collected through various methods. The field work has been divided into three parts:

1. Preliminary visit (October 13th 2006 to December 5th 2006).
2. Main visit (March 7th 2007 to 23rd August 2007).
3. Final visit (October 5th 2007 to November 29th 2007).

The sampling method was used to select the respondents from the five tehsils of the district. A statistical sample ideally purports to be a miniature model or replica of the collectivity or population constituted of all the items that the study should encompass. A total sample size of 250 respondents was drawn with 50 each from the five tehsils of Kulgam, Bijbehara, Pahalgam, Anantnag and Dooru. The population of the district is predominantly rural, but considerable number of urban respondents has been included in the sample. Non probability Judgement sampling has been used for the purpose.

The data has been quantified and analysed using percentage analysis. To supplement quantitative data, some case studies have also been conducted to ascertain the genuineness of the findings. Therefore, both qualitative and quantitative methods have been employed, because sometimes statistical analysis fails to reveal the social reality. Case study method has been employed to analyse data qualitatively. P.V.Young says “Case study is a method of exploring and analysing the life of a social unit be that unit a person, family, institution, culture group or even an entire community. Its aim is to determine the factors that account for complex behavior patterns of the unit to its surrounding milieu. Case study may be gathered on entire life cycle or on a definite section of the life cycle of a unit, but always with a view of ascertaining the natural history of the social

unit and its environment”. In the present study schedule has been administered extensively to the sample population and the findings have been supplemented by relevant case studies. After the recording of data, it had to be codified and from the tabulated data inferences have been drawn, supported with other relevant data from other secondary sources.

The continued violence has almost intersected the lives of every Kashmiri from a child in the lap of a mother to a man at the threshold of his grave. It has made their lives miserable and the worst affected are family as a unit and women as a category. The research aims at to search for the following effects of violence:

- Who is the Victim? What are the different forms of the violence? Where they are victimised? Who is the perpetrator?
- What is the form of loss of victims? What is the status of victims? And after effects of the victimization on family as a unit and women as a category.
- How family as a unit has been affected in terms of change in its basic functions. The impact of violence on family economy and authority.
- The effect of violence on norms and values of society and the resulting individual, family and societal disorganization.
- The effect of violence on women as a gender category both directly (Victim) and indirectly being a mother, a sister, a daughter or a wife of the victim.
- The bane of widowhood and half widowhood on women.
- The fake encounters, disappearances and long detentions and the resulting effects on family and women.

- The effects of violence on health and maternity services, especially emergency services.
- The effect of violence on women in terms of role performance, role conflict and unhealthy transfer of roles.
- The effect of violence on education especially in relation to school dropout and women education.
- The various agencies involved in violence, their modus operandi and the extent of infliction on people.

Various independent variables like, age, gender, education, income, marital status, location, and family size have been used suitably to corroborate the various findings. All these variables influence each other in some way but they have their independent influence on the violence, its extent and forms.

At the beginning there was mass support to the movement, but as the struggle got prolonged, the mass support began to vanish, though people still believe in the struggle for independence. The victims happen to have suffered irrespective of age, gender and location. But at the same time middle age group, women (being victims doubly both directly and indirectly) and rural space happen to be more prone to violence. When it comes to forms of violence, the upper age group happens to be have suffered in every form of violence more followed by middle age group and lower age group. In case of location, the rural people happen to have suffered more in every form of violence. It is a clear case of spatial distribution of violence, where rural people often become soft targets of violence. In case of gender the results show gendered bias of violence, where women happen to have suffered on specific forms of violence more like rape, molestation,

threat and emotional suffering where as men face torture, physical abuse and interrogation more. The women have been targeted to demoralise the men from supporting militants.

The perpetrators of violence happen to be Militants, Paramilitary forces, Military, Police, STF, Intelligence agencies and Renegades (Ikhwanis). The common Kashmiri happens to be the victim of every agency involved in violence, but the agencies mainly involved in violence against people have been Military, Paramilitary, STF of Police and Renegades (pro government fighters). The state forces entrusted with the duty of providing security to the people often turn hostile and resort to brazen violence. The militants have been also involved in human rights abuses a number of times though not often. There is a clear manifestation of the spatial distribution of violence where rural space happens to be more prone to violence as rural folks cease to be identified as complete citizens. As citizenship is generally thought to comprise several elements, including identity, belonging, status, rights and responsibilities, that produce what T.H.Marshall considers the acceptance of a person as a full member of a given society. The rural people are subjected to blatant violence of human rights on the account of denial of their basic rights compared to urban population. At the same time both the genders have been subjected to victimization, but men happen to be victimised more than women on account of non involvement of women in insurgent organisations.

The victims happen to have suffered both loss of life and property, but the majority have suffered the loss of life. It has been established by the results that the majority of the deceased happen to be earning members of the family; this has led to deep impact on the life chances of the dependent members of the family.

The widows of the deceased have to toil hard to feed the family and most often find themselves in the role conflicts while running the household and family affairs, it also leads to school dropout of the children who leave school to earn for the family existence. Therefore, loss of earning member has its repercussions on the educational attainment of children and economy of the family.

The family happens to be the basic unit of social organisation, which determines the life chances of its members. The family has certain basic functions like socialization, economic, educational and emotional to be fulfilled for the better development of the members to be incorporated into the society. In this manner family happens to be the basic block which determines order and stability in the society. The continuous violence has led to deep impact on these basic functions of the family. The process of socialization has been disrupted, the economic function has been undermined, educational prospects and the emotional security to the members have been defiled.

The socialization which marks the initiation of the new born into the culture of family and society in large has been strongly affected. The child had to be educated in norms and values of the society, but the society was in a disarray and chaos. The old norms and values were fast changing and the new transitional norms and values crept in. It was difficult for the family to maintain the balance between the cherished values and the new values. The earlier values rested on peace, brotherhood, respect, sacrifice and altruism. But the new values emerged from violence and demanded strict codes to be adhered to for mere survival, the situation was anomic. The children and the adults learnt how to be safe during cross fires, how to be safe during searches and cordons, how to face the music of

angry soldiers after encounters, how to face the authoritarian militants, how to face the militants and troops in normal times. The activities of leisure and recreation changed, the sunset was an alarm to be inside the home. There was change in language too. The language of violence has crept in the local language and often people use the words pertaining to violent acts in day to day lives. People find it hard to socialize their children when there is dearth of meaningful reference groups.

The new culture of violence has taken its toll on economic function of the family too. Because of the continuing violence the men have been off the work most of the times, which has obstructed the fulfillment of the economic needs of the members sometimes. But the condition is worse in the cases where the earning hands of the family got wiped out in violence. The affected families got in dire economic straits, often the women had to search out for the work and make up for the economic needs of the family and its members. In certain cases even children had to work to make the both ends meet. In worst cases sometimes women were forced to sell their bodies to feed their families. So, when the bare survival of the family was difficult, the question of economic security never emerged.

The emotional security of the members has been snatched away, because family is finding it difficult to manage the crisis of conflict. The elders of the family feel uncertainty in their lives and in most of the affected families the fathers and earning members cease to exist, which has led to deep emotional fissures within the family.

The family could not maintain to provide for better education to its members, the violence often led to closure of schools, colleges and even

university. Secondly, many youth found it attractive to join militant ranks for the power associated with gun and many families saw loss of earning members which resulted in closure of educational prospects for the children of the affected families.

Though family has been affected on various counts as pointed above, the nuclear family has suffered more as compared to Joint family, the reason being small membership of the family, where every member is given due care. When the violence targets the family, the whole family is affected on multiple counts and that too more lethally.

There has occurred an uneven distribution of money where some well off families have been ruined and some modest families have amassed wealth. The reason for this is increased corruption and at the same time illegal wealth has found entry into state through various means, like hawala channels, counterfeit currency and through militant outfits. The worst part is that the society is becoming morally sick as the social control means to control such practices have become ineffective. The wealth is the only thing that counts and not the mode of earning. The other reason for such a practice may be the social pressures for luxuries and consumerism which has become an antidote to fear and pressures of violence

The marriage of young ones especially girls is a family affair in traditional societies like Kashmir, the family elders take the important decisions regarding the compatibility of potential mates. The patriarchal setup of the society makes it a matter of honour and pride. This potential function of the family has been impeded because of the violent conditions prevalent in society. The potential reasons for

such a development happen to be the pressure from gun yielding men forcing family to get the girls married to them or the girls overawed with the power of gun and eloping with gunmen and family happens to be in no position to resist. The more plausible reason is the weakening of existing norms and values of the society, where the violent norms prevail and the social control mechanisms cease to exist. There is no variation in the results with respect to location.

A related case is the loss of community control and community leadership which happen to be the land marks of traditional societies. The traditional authority emerged from the pulpit of the mosque and the community elders took important decisions regarding community affairs, followed sufistic Islam. The holy warriors or Mujahids (militants) were backed with an ideology of different form of Islam and the authority emerged from the gun. The old values and norms shattered and the authority and control of elders stood defied not only in community but even in their own households.

The important thing is that people perceive that family is disorganised. The results show that majority of respondents feel that there is loss of basic functions of family, undermining of authority of elders, intergenerational conflict and increase and more importantly a rise in domestic violence. There is clash between the old and new values, the old used to follow certain moral codes continuing for generations in a peaceful environment in a beautiful cultural mosaic of tolerance, interdependence and responsibility. With the onset of violence the society went into transition where earlier codes ceased to exist, the condition became more or less anomic. The result was that social relations went into a disarray and disruption, so does the interfamilial relations. There is a significant increase in

domestic violence cases, the people witness violence in their everyday life and the frustration finds vent at their respective homes. At the same time there is increased drug use among youth, who find it hard to escape the waves of violence and find solace in drugs. There is widespread unemployment and chaos supplemented by easy availability of drugs like Charas, Ganja, Brown Sugar and Liquor made available by various agencies to weaken resistance. To forget their personal traumas and sufferings youth find these drugs appealing which at last has direct bearing on their families and in particular women.

The women happen to have been affected doubly in the ongoing violent conflict, either directly when their own bodies are hit or indirectly when some member of the family is hit by violence. It is because a woman happens to be a mother, a daughter, a sister, a wife of the victim. A woman suffers as a mother when she witnesses multiple funerals in her house, her son was tortured or subjected to disappearance, members of the family were kept in long detention. A woman has suffered as a daughter when her father being a close emotional pillar for her lost his life, her family members were subjected to torture or death or she was molested in front of her family. A woman suffered as a sister when her brother/brothers lost life in conflict, she was molested in front of her brother, and she was beaten up while protesting for atrocities against her brothers by forces. Similarly a woman has suffered as a wife when she was subjected to widowhood or half widowhood in the ongoing conflict. Thus woman happens to have suffered on multiple counts. The widowhood appears to be a bane not only for the affected women but for their children too, but the women happen to have sacrificed their desires and opted not to remarry for the sake of their children. But when findings

were cross checked with respect to gender, it has been found that females find widows being victimised more. They have been sometimes labelled as bad charactered, even sometimes they have to sell their bodies for mere survival of the family where honour and modesty matters least. So there is a significant difference in male and female perception regarding suffering of widows that is directly a manifestation of strengthening of patriarchal setup of society.

The valley has witnessed fake encounters and disappearances. The fake encounters have resulted in loss of innocent lives and the extent can be identified from the startling revelation of mass graves in north Kashmir quite recently. It has resulted in disruption and defilement of many families where children bore the brunt and had to work to run the family, but the worst sufferers are the wives of these disappeared men who are caught in stymies where they can neither remarry nor can take divorce. They have to wait endlessly for the disappeared to come back and in the process suffer the same way as do the widows and sometimes much more than the widows. They are living a miserable life even sometimes become burden on in-laws or have to sell their bodies in extreme cases to run the family.

Another dimension of violence has been the restriction in free movement, role performance and economic activity of women. The women in the Kashmiri society have traditionally enjoyed freedom of movement, the social space used to be secure and safe, but the conflict has brought violence to the doorsteps and the women happen to be the soft targets and thus resulting in her restricted movement. Most of the Kashmiri women in rural areas used to collect firewood and fodder from nearby fields and orchards to help men in running the family economy

smoothly, but the presence of army men forced her to sit back in the secure confines of her home. In the process she began to play roles different from the ones she played earlier. She had to accompany men to almost every work particularly in the night, which was quite alien to her. Some families had even to migrate from rural to urban areas, because of threat from militants and renegades, at the new place they were confined to the indoors and even at times subjected to cultural shocks. There has been unhealthy transfer of role from one status to other status. The worst role conflict has been in the cases where men lost their life and the widows had to take up the additional roles of father, breadwinner and caretaker of the children. She even had to work for the sustenance of the family, where she became victimised again in various forms.

The violence has also taken toll on the education system of the valley, the frequent cordons, firings and shutdowns have disrupted the whole system. There is no accountability and even premier institutions have suffered. The violence has increased the rate of school dropouts as to run the family sometimes children had to work or simply child was overawed with the power of gun and was taken to arms training by various militant organisations. There have been cases where youth left education and took gun to avenge killings in the family. The female education has suffered too as the pressures of violence and security of the vulnerable species (females) forced many families to rest their daughters at home and closed the future educational prospects of many girls. But it is pertinent to mention here that the things have changed a lot, people are taking up the challenge of educating their daughters and there is a great improvement although a lot has to be done yet.

The health sector has also witnessed the brunt of violent conflict. The emergency services and the maternity services have received a serious setback. The doctors and staff couldn't make it to reach the hospital often. The operation theatres are in disarray even now. The situation was even worse during night hours when reaching hospital itself was not safe for the fear of a stray bullet hitting anybody on mere suspicion by the army. Although hospitals have played a tremendous role in treating wounded and slithered victims of violence, but the specialty care was limited to certain city hospitals that too in the capital Srinagar. Often the patients breathed their last on the way to Srinagar. The doctors practiced in private clinics where patients are charged handsome money and the hospital OPDs are visited by people with minor illnesses. The maternity services also happen to be in tatters because of heavy army movement, firings, shutdowns snapped roads and burnt bridges. The same is the case with chronic illness of elders. Most of the times victims couldn't make it to reach the hospitals. The things got further out of hand when even running operation theatres and labour rooms were raided by security forces for suspected persons to be arrested. The people are suffering from ailments like hypertension, depression and psychological disorders like PTSD and often happen to be ignorant about their illness because of lack of any trauma centers in the valley.

The fear factor has prevailed into the lives of the people. The fear of losing lives, losing houses, losing children, losing property and business, losing honour have added up to make people sick and fearful of violence. Similarly the restricted movement, daily frisking and checking, the surprise detentions and disappearances, fake encounters have made the lives of people traumatic. The

uncertainties in the lives of people have made them sick and suffer from various psychological disorders. The worst part is that even children have been not spared, because most of the times they have witnessed violence being inflicted upon their family and people, which left permanent marks on their psyche.

The main agencies involved in violence are militants and government security forces, both have been involved in violence against common man, but it has been established that government forces have been mostly involved in blatant human rights violations of people. The militants mostly target government informers, politicians, civil servants, policemen and the renegades, but in the process the other members of the families also get fatal brushes with the violence. The security agencies particularly army, renegades, STF are involved in gross misconduct of their powers and added to this the special powers like AFSPA and DAA provide them the immunity against prosecution. The common man has been brutally and brazenly targeted and the cases of torture, interrogation and defilement of bodies from both the agencies involved in violence are a routine exercise.

The victims have been compensated mainly by the state government, but there is again a partisan approach when the families of militants are left out and are denied any compensation or relief on account of the anti state activities of the deceased. The state fails to identify that the survivors of the combatants are as much state subjects as any normal victimised family. The result is that these families and women in particular are left to face the vagaries of the violence resulting in further societal disorganisation and chaos.

The final solution for the order to be maintained and violence to be stopped is the establishment of peace and there happen to be various opinions regarding the conflict resolution. But the best solution according to people happens to be the following of the UN resolutions on the dispute and subsequent holding of the plebiscite. People have little faith in the governments of India and Pakistan who have used this issue for their own political interests from time to time for the past 50 years and thus the dialogues held between two countries happen to be futile for them. Given the military might and the nuclear status of the both countries the intervention by some super power like USA to resolve the dispute again appears to be a bleak chance. It can be therefore, concluded that for establishment of the order in the region the peace has to be established at any cost and it will be the dawn of new phase of development, progress and freedom of the entire south Asian subcontinent. The suffering of people has to be ended all that needed is a strong political will of the contenders.

It is hoped that study will fill the gap in the literature of sociology pertaining to violence and will add up new insights in the area of conflict studies. The study is definitely going to be useful and helpful for those who theorize about the armed violence in various contexts.



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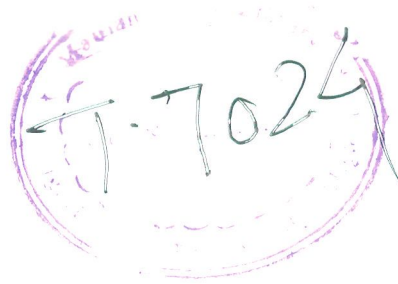
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*Dedicated To My
Teacher (Late) Prof. M. Jamal Siddiqui
&
Daughters of Kashmir*

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Dated.....27th August 08.....

Certificate

This is to certify that **Mr. Primroze Bashir** has worked under my supervision for his Ph. D. thesis entitled “*Violence Affecting Family and Women in Contemporary Kashmir: A Case Study of Anantnag J&K*”. The researcher has incorporated the original data in his work. I consider it suitable for submission for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.

Nemat Ali Khan

**Dr. Nemat Ali Khan
(Supervisor)**

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Chapter 1

The Basics of Violence

1.1 Introduction

The world of today is marred by violence all around. The use of violence has become widespread throughout the globe. We can witness chaos all around, be it riots, pogroms, interstate wars, the wars in the name of democracy, state-inflicted democides and genocides, guerilla attacks etc. the phenomenon of “violence” is not new, it has occurred through ages, but it is in recent times it has increased enormously and has become a multidimensional approach. The violence has often been characterized as pre modern category where there is no rational thought and organization, but it is in the so called modern world violence has raised its head everywhere and has just become an ordinary and invisible phenomenon. It intersects our lives daily yet we do not recognize it often. This necessitates first of all elaborating the concept, i.e., what violence is?

The usage of term ‘violence’ in English has come from Latin word “violentia: vis (force) and latus (past participle of ‘to carry’)” to describe ‘exercise of physical force against someone who is thereby interrupted or disturbed’ and interfered with rudely or roughly or desecrated, dishonored, profaned or defiled. But the definitions of violence have been extended to encompass the personal, the institutional and the cultural, this way to account for the satisfaction of human needs, thus making it indistinguishable from terms like ‘harm’, ‘misery’, ‘alienation’, ‘cultural discrimination’, and ‘repression’(Keane, 2004:34-35).

The first thing that comes to our mind when we speak of violence is pain which is not involuntary, but voluntary .i.e., deliberately caused by some agent. There is certain sort of coercion involved, but it is definitely illegitimate and socially unacceptable

Blackburn defines violence as “action that injures or destroys that to which it is applied” (Blackburn, 1994). Ruddick further elaborates “in central cases, it is people who are damaged. However, it is also possible and some believe equally serious to act violently towards non-human animals and the natural world (Houben & Van Kooij, 1999:1).

The above definition is too wide to deal with, so it will be better to move to some closer definitions. Collins dictionary defines violence as (1) “behavior which is meant to hurt or kill people”; (2) “a great deal of energy used in doing something – usually because you are angry”; (3) “words, actions or other forms of expression which are critical or destructive”. The oxford dictionary defines violence as (1) “the quality of being violent”; (2) “violent conduct or treatment, outrage, injury”; (3a) “the unlawful exercise of physical force”; (3b) “intimidation by the exhibition of this”.

The above definitions give us somewhat better understanding of the term “violence”, which is coercive or destructive behavior exhibiting force or destruction on what it is desired at, it is also disorderly, turbulent, unlawful in its functioning (Chitnis, 1998:13). Finally Gattling (1969) gives us a somewhat broad definition of violence as “violence includes any action or inaction by people which prevent others from living a complete life” (Gupta, 1989:50). The definition not only takes into account use of force, but destruction but also takes into account deprivation of chances of life of an individual or a group under the purview of violence.

Although violence is an evil, it has occurred throughout the history of mankind. As mentioned above at the beginning, earlier societies being closed and

less communicable and less advanced, therefore, violence was localized and of no harm to other societies, it was accepted as a part of life and just also. Later when the societies progressed, character of societies changed from closed to open, information and technology developed, societies advanced and there was awareness of rights, as a result violence came to be seen as some sort of disruption and disorganization in societies. But, still violence persisted in societies and was even glorified. Glorification of violence needs justifications which are both implicit and explicit e.g. in the form of aims to be reached. To cite Ruddick here “people charged with violence will re describe their act so that its ‘violent’ character disappears”. It is easy to advocate use of non violence for both individuals and states, but both are confronted with situations where use of violence is inevitable. So, applying a little violence may seem justified in the light of greater evil (Houben & Van Kooij, 1999:1-2). The statement has got universal application as there is a tension between general wish to avoid violence and its acceptance to avoid ‘greater evil’.

In modern societies there is also institutionalization of violence, where there is no face to face violence like earlier societies, but there is violence by proxy. The institutions guide men in habits and skills of behaving according to logic and imperatives of institutional system they are operating in e.g. army, police, and hospital. Violence this way tends to become anonymous, harm earns the status of profession, but it remains violence nonetheless. This form of violence includes industrial violence of past century and also cases of subjects analyzed by scholars like Michael Foucault, in which bodies of subjects are deliberately kept in confinement without their will, be it asylums, hospitals, army barracks etc.

violence is thus used in the name of improvement, privatized, sanitized and camouflaged within the walls of a prison, hospital or asylum, sometimes with a smile (Keane, 2004:36-37). The violence has also been institutionalized across the globe for certain deliberate ends, either political or creation of certain social control agencies, so that a desired order is maintained in societies. The example of the former is the army as an institution either to aggress or to protect the interests of rival nations, the example of later is the police as an institution maintained by state which can use violence to maintain internal peace and order required for smooth functioning of the state.

Violence is relative in the sense that it varies from culture to culture, from time to time and from group to group. Nature and type of violence is culture specific, it is a qualitative statement and needs further explanation.

Violence is relative to culture in the sense that the meaning and concept of violence defined as violation, transgression or socially unacceptable infliction of pain is that behavior which is viewed as violence in one society and is not viewed so in another society (Chitnis, 1998:16). For example, female circumcision practiced in African countries is viewed as violence by non-African people. Another example is that of theft in Saudi Arabia, where the hand of thief is amputated, which is totally a barbaric or violent punishment for us.

Violence is relative to time in the sense that practices considered to be violent by a society at one point of time may not be considered so in the same society at another point of time, the reason being the norms and values governing the society change with changing times (Chitnis, 1998:16). There are numerous examples, like childhood marriage, widow remarriage, inheritance, dowry earlier

viewed as normal in our society are now viewed as acts of violence, and same is the case with other societies although examples may vary.

Suma Chitinis here draws our attention to change which is uneven and is thus appearing as a source of turmoil and unrest in societies. Same is the case with persons experiencing certain practices and behavior to be violent, while earlier the same appeared to be normal. This can lead to deep personal conflict, anomie and even breakdown if the person experiencing the change is unable to contain or manage it efficiently. Examples are that of black Americans who are resenting racial discrimination now, which they earlier tolerated. Some people who got awareness of equality experienced resentment and personal conflict when they faced racial discrimination. Since this awareness was not evenly spread in the country, there were strong movements against racial discrimination in the decades of 50's, 60's and 70's. As change continues to be uneven, the feeling of violation persists, so there is continuing personal and social conflict in the U.S.A. Likewise women's resentment against discrimination has been mostly channeled into constructive activism, be it empowerment, structural reforms at improving their status and life situation. However, there are instances where it exploded into angry feminism and resulted in deep personal conflict, even breakdown among women who have been unable to cope with their resentment against gender discrimination (Chitnis, 1998:16-17).

Violence also varies from group to group. The behavior and practices considered to be right by a group of people may be dubbed as violent by others. Examples are galore, be it Nazism and fascism in Germany and Italy hailed by Nazis and fascists respectively, while it was denounced by common man,

moderates in Indian national struggle viewed as violent the activities of extremists while the extremist found it normal and just, inequalities of caste system in India provides an another example. In contemporary world, the practices of Al-Qaida, VHP, and Naxalites are being hailed by their followers and supporters while common man denounces their acts as violent and unjust in one or the other form.

Violence is mostly use of brute force, which is illegitimate, it has got different forms. Prof. Ganesh Bahadur Mali (Tribhuvan University, Katmandu, Nepal) gives following forms of violence (as adopted in Raut, 1989:64-66).

(i) Violence committed as crimes or illegal violence.

It is the commonest form of violence, includes burglary, widow burning, witch hunt, rape etc. here the person committing violence is in a position to dominate.

(ii) Violence as acts of terror usually committed to promote fear or to weaken resistance and opposition against some ulterior motives.

The oppressor and oppressed both use different forms of violence to achieve some ulterior motives. Hijacking, assassinations, bombings, kidnappings, suicide bombings have been committed in the name of justice and peace in society. Political terrorism has been used to gain or keep power by the people or to increase or preserve their power. Terrorism, revolutions are all aimed at changing existing power structure of society and uses violence

(iii) Violence committed to maintain beliefs (dogmas, faiths, superstitions, religious beliefs, etc.).

It includes violence in the form of crusades, holy wars, witch hunting, widow burning, violence by upper castes committed on lower castes, violence based on colour, racial killings etc. Such type of violence is given support by religious zealots and has an ideology for backing.

- (iv) Violence as a clash between major interests to be resolved only by bloodshed.

Wars and battles come under this category.

The things get even more clarified following categorization of violence by Omar Khalidi. He in his book has adopted the typology of violence given by R.A.Schermerhorn (communal violence in India: a case study, 1976). He gives a structural typology of violence having following forms (Khalidi, 1995:13-14):

- (i) **International hostilities and armed warfare** e.g. Sino Indian and Indo-Pak conflict.
- (ii) **Societal violence:** that is, violence affecting the total structure of a given society. such as-
 - (a) violence from below- revolution or revolt (e.g. French, soviet and Chinese revolutions)
 - (b) Violence from above- suppression, counter revolution (e.g. Pakistani military crackdown in east Bengal, Indian atrocities in Kashmir, Serbian war-crime of genocide in Bosnia).
 - (c) Civil war (e.g. Lebanon, Nigeria, Somalia).
- (iii) **Societal apex violence:** coupdetat, palace revolutions (e.g. any number of cases in Africa, Latin America and Middle East).

(iv) Inter societal violence that does not threaten the state or total societal structure.

- (a)** Violence perpetrated by a majority (with or without formal sovereignty) upon a minority; with or without retaliation; through direct action or mediated through police or military.e.g. Pogroms in Nazi Germany, Bosnia and in India against Muslims.
- (b)** Reciprocal violence between two groups (e.g. Hindu Muslim riots in pre-1947 British India).
- (c)** Attacks of a powerful contextual minority on a particular contextual majority (e.g. blacks in apartheid south Africa).
- (d)** Agitational forays, usually mass demonstrations that turn violent, then are deflected into situational or sporadic attacks on locational victims, utilizing rock throwing, looting, and burning in addition to killing (e.g. labour strikes and closures in India).
- (e)** Violence of masses against an elite (e.g. peasant revolts against landlords in India and elsewhere).
- (f)** Criminal assaults of all kinds, both planned and spontaneous, having some utilitarian motive.

Having discussed forms of violence at a glance, we come to know about broad face of violence, its extent and different spheres where it is operating in. It is the use of brute force which is embodied, i.e., it touches the body of the victim.

There has been long and widespread debate among social theorists regarding the models of societies, the way societies operate or function, remain

stable and gradually change. The present concern draws our attention to equilibrium and conflict models of the society.

The equilibrium model has been elaborated fully by Talcott Parsons, it rests on the principle of “Homeostasis” i.e. the way human body acts to maintain itself in a stable state, the way human body readjusts and repairs itself in case of illness or injury. Parsons and others conceived of human society being operating on automatic adjustments to redress the balance of its equilibrium when it is upset by internal and external forces. But, there were certain defects clearly manifest in this analogy. Firstly, societies regularly fail to control what happened to them. Secondly, we can’t determine the optimal state of homeostasis of a society (Inkeles, 2003:37-38).

The sharpest criticism against Equilibrium model is launched by conflict model of society. The conflict theorists assert that rather than consensus, it is dissension which is the basic condition of the social life. It arises through the competition for power and advantage between the different groups. The dominant struggle, therefore, is between those without advantages and wishing to secure them and those who wish to get more or at least prevent others from taking what is available (Inkeles, 2003:38-39).

The Conflict model was manifestly brought into light by Karl Marx in his theory of class and class conflict. Marx places economy (Means and Forces of production) at the base of social structure (Infrastructure), it determines all other institutions like religion, polity, law etc. (Superstructure). There has been constant struggle between those having control over forces of production and those without any access to them. The struggle between two classes becomes manifest only

when the subjected class becomes aware of its exploitation, it transforms from class in itself to class for itself, bringing about a revolution, thus a social change. Marx asserts history of all societies up to present is the history of class struggle.

Contrary to Marx's analysis of conflict on the basis of material, Ralph Dahrendorf gives somewhat different explanation of conflict model in his book "Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society" (1959). He considers power and authority as scarce resources and component actors are in a perpetual struggle over distribution of resources. At times their contradictions may be muted, but they are never absent from any social structure. He further points out that societies are always in conflict, interests of some actors are always against those of others, and these interests are not economic but are purely based on the distribution of power. Dahrendorf asserts that conflict can never be eradicated because every solution to conflict of power creates a new constellation of interests giving rise to new conflicts. Thus societies are always in conflict and social change is never ending feature of society.

Actually conflict approach was given a real shape by Lewis Coser who published his book "The Functions of Social Conflict" (1956) marking a clear cut transition from functional (equilibrium model) to conflict approach. He looked at the conflict in the way it is functional for society i.e. the way it contributes in the maintenance of stability and integration. Although conflict requires struggle over scarce resources, where aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate others (rivals), but it can also lead to integration within the groups involved in conflict. He further says sometimes need for internal integration and stability leads groups to conflict with other groups. Later Coser sites certain propositions wherein

he mentions different conditions in which conflict can be functional for given society.

We need not go into the details of conflict theory, but as Alex Inkeles points out actual society is a balance between equilibrium and conflict models of society (Inkeles, 2003:39). So, in equilibrium model a formal use of violence in terms of certain institutional mechanisms maintains order, which is the other way round in conflict model, where violence is used as a tool against Out-group so that it brings order and integration in the In-group.

1.2 Violence and Social Processes

We can now move to certain lower levels to have some deeper understanding of violence in terms of various social processes. The processes, the flows and exchanges of action and reaction, with which sociology is concerned are numerous. Here, a cursory look at some of these may suffice to our need.

(a) Stratification and Differentiation.

Man has always longed for an egalitarian society, a society where everyone will be equal. There will be no ranking in terms of prestige, power or wealth. But, clearly egalitarian society remains a dream as we can see in every society simple or complex some form of inequality. In simple terms power, prestige and sometimes wealth also are unequally distributed between individuals and groups.

Social stratification is a particular form of inequality which refers to ranking of social groups in terms of hierarchical order, usually in terms of power, prestige or wealth. Those belonging to a particular group or stratum have some awareness of common interests and a common identity. The most notable example is that of Hindu caste system. Traditionally Hindu society was divided into five

main strata: four varnas (castes) and a fifth group (the out caste) called untouchables. The ranking was based on ritual purity and pollution. The Brahmins were at the top of the ladder personifying purity, sanctity and holiness, whereas at the bottom of the ladder were untouchables – unclean, impure and base, a status affecting their social relationships (Harlambos & Heald, 1980:24-25). The caste status in fact determined everything in Hindu society from simple possessions, food habits and even type of occupation. It was highly exploitative social order, where fate of a person depended on the caste of his birth. In fact there was a clear cut violation of rights of lower castes in the name of religion which sanctioned this social order.

Functionalists, particularly Parsons suggest stratification to be an inevitable part of all societies based on common values. The relationship between different strata is that of cooperation and interdependence, in this way it is functional for society. Power and prestige distinctions help in coordination and integration of specialized division of labour. Finally, inequalities of power and prestige benefit all the members of society since they satisfy collective goals based on shared values (Harlambos & Heald, 1980:31-32).

Marxian perspective sees stratification system as divisive rather than integrative structure (Functionalists). Marxists contrary to functionalists see stratification in terms of clearly defined social strata whose members have shared interests. It is a mechanism of exploitation rather than a means of furthering the collective goals. Marx divides all societies into two polarized classes: a ruling class and a subject class. He defines “class” as a social group whose members share same relationship to the forces of production. The power of the ruling class

derives from its ownership and control of forces of production. The ruling class for its own interests exploits and oppresses the subject class, as a result there is a basic conflict of interest between the two. Various institutions (political, religious, legal etc.) become instruments of the ruling class. The end of this exploitative order is a violent revolution, when subject class transforms from “class in itself: to “class for itself” on becoming aware of their exploitation (Harlambos & Heald, 1980:38-44).

Max Weber also approaches stratification in economic terms. He defines class as a group of individuals sharing similar position in a market economy and by virtue of that fact receive similar economic rewards. Thus Weber sees a person's ‘class situation’ as his ‘market situation’. While Marx sees class as the only basis of stratification, Weber sees it only as one possible basis of group formation. He argues groups can be formed on the basis of ‘status situation’ also. A status group is made up of individuals having similar amount of social honour, thus same ‘status situation’. They share similar life style, identify and feel that they belong to same status group. For example, caste system in India. Weber observes that in certain situations status rather than class provides the basis for group formation, which holds common interests and a group identity. Status groups cut along class divisions can weaken class solidarity and thus reduce potential for class consciousness. Weber at last brings in the notion of “party” representing either interest of class or status group and sometimes of both or neither. The relationship between the three is far from clear cut. Just as status groups can divide classes and cut across class boundaries, parties can divide and cut across both classes and status groups (Harlambos & Heald, 1980:44-47).

So, Weber provides a complex and diversified picture of stratification, in which there is scope not only for order or integration but for disruption and conflict also. Nonetheless, he strikes a balanced approach.

Social differentiation like stratification is the ranking of individuals which may be intra group or inter group, it is represented in millions of organized, semi organized and as if organized groups into which total human population is divided and structured. There is differentiation on the basis of sex, race , color etc. It starts when the superior and inferior govern human relations. It is almost absent in simple societies where as there is a great deal of differentiation in complex societies. The individuals with more power and prestige are ranked above the individuals having less power and prestige. Certain values and positions defined by society as prestigious enhance status of an individual placing him up in the ladder of differentiation.

The above discussion clearly suggests that the process of stratification and differentiation are the result of socially created inequalities. There is a clear manifestation of violence in both the processes. The dominant or upper strata/individuals oppress or exploit subjective or lower strata/individuals by declaring their right to do so as socially legitimate as cultural, legal, political and religious institutions are held hostage by these groups or individuals owing to their acquisition of power. So, violence may be passive in appearance, it needs critical eye to pinpoint it in certain cases as above. But, at the same time these social processes have been indispensable for the proper functioning of society and institutions bringing in order and stability. Our understanding of violence will be

supplemented when we take account of certain other social processes, fundamental to the social existence of the man.

(b) Cooperation, Competition and Conflict.

Cooperation is a joint or collaborative behavior directed towards some goal and thereby having common interest or hope of reward. It may be voluntary, involuntary; direct, indirect; formal or informal. But, always it is a combination of efforts towards a common goal in which participants have interests real or imagined. Further cooperation can be an ethical norm, a social process or an institutional structure (International Encyclopedia of Social sciences, 1968: 384-85).

In ethics and religion cooperation has been among the most honoured values throughout human history. It has been placed as synonymous to morality by some.

Considered as a process, cooperation is central to the formation and changes of types. Closely related to competition, cooperative behavior is one of the central mechanisms of evolutionary process. It is to be observed in conditions leading to change and stability.

As a social structure, it is manifest in countless organizations created by the man for just behavior towards achieving a common goal.

It is cooperation as a process which will be of central concern at present. Cooperative behavior among individuals is quite evident in our day to day relationships. The aim is to maintain order and stability. Examples are numerous, like cooperation between a teacher and his students in class room, cooperation between individuals in an organization to carry out their work, cooperation

between customer and service provider etc. but cooperation is also aimed at bringing about a change in society or its institutions e.g. revolutions, strikes, social movements etc. It is in the latter category, use of violence is often opted as a means towards a particular goal, interest or end.

So, cooperation can be a means to bring about predictable stability and order in society on one hand and at the same time it may result in disruption to bring about a formidable change in social structures. Nonetheless, actual operation of cooperation is a midway between two extremes.

The second related process is that of competition. At first instance, competition appears to be an opposition, but not all competition is opposition. "Opposition consists of interactions in which one actor seeks to obstruct, block or turn aside the efforts of other, against resistance. It is found in debates, contests and games. Competition is more specific process in which actors seek scarce distributive values such as money within the framework of limits on the use of drastic means. It may be totally impersonal and diffuse, as in large scale markets. When competitors are few and well identified, we may speak of rivalries, as among athletic teams or large scale corporations, or cities seeking governmental grants. So, competition for jobs among individuals in an open market differs from the rivalry of two persons for the same position in a corporate hierarchy (Williams, 2004:111).

Competition and cooperation rarely occur separately. Competition needs a degree of prior cooperation necessary for setting rules, imposing sanctions, otherwise competition will dissolve into open war. Conversely cooperation would not be a major force if it were not the pressures of competition prompting some to

cooperate with others so that the existence is maintained. In any event purely competitive or cooperative relations are difficult to exist (International Encyclopedia of Social sciences, 1968: 389-90).

So, it is a matter of degree which may turn a healthy competition to a violent struggle or rivalry. In actual terms it is diffused and impersonal. It is crucial to draw a distinction between peaceful individual competition and regularized collective opposition and overt conflict. It is also essential to state here that not all competitions and oppositions should be called conflict, which is discussed below.

Social conflict may be defined as a struggle over claims to status, power and scarce resources, in which the aims of conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rivals. Such conflicts may take place between individuals, between collectivities or between individuals and collectivities. Intergroup and Intragroup conflicts are perennial features of social life (International Encyclopedia of Social sciences, 1968: 232). As Weber points out “conflict cannot be excluded from social life..... ‘Peace is nothing more than a change in the form of conflict or in the antagonists or in the objects of conflict, or finally in the chances of selection” (International Encyclopedia of Social sciences, 1968: 232).

Conflict cannot have always negative implications towards society, in certain cases it can be cementing force for interpersonal relations within the group. Actually negative aspects of conflict were highlighted by functionalists who considered it as a sickness of society, it was only later that theorists like Marx and Simmel gave conflict model of society, where they highlighted its positive effects.

Conflict can be 'Realistic' or 'Non-realistic'. Realistic conflict is aimed at the attainment of a certain goal, where means towards achievement may be abandoned if some other means appear to be most effective. Non-realistic conflict on the other hand is not aimed at the attainment of concrete results, but at the expression of aggressive impulses, like scapegoating. It allows no functional alternative means.

The impact of conflict varies according to the societal types. In the pluralistic societies and open groups owing to multiple associations of individuals, the expression of conflict is at multiple points. This is because affiliation to various groups makes it possible that those who are antagonistic in one conflict may be allies in the other. While, in rigid and close societies total personality of a person is absorbed and the loyalty is monopolized. The resultant deep involvement and association leads to deep hostility and ambivalence, to which group denies any legitimate outlets. So, when conflict breaks out, it is intense and violent. It is because of lack of crisscrossing associations and multiple allegiances between members of these societies and groups, which blocks all the outlets for conflict leading to division of society into two hostile opposite camps (International Encyclopedia of Social sciences, 1968: 233-34).

Actually conflict becomes more intense in cases where it is collectivity oriented rather than self oriented. It is because in the former case struggle is for super individual ends. Following a particular ideology, individuals tend to be more radical and merciless than those who fight for personal advantage. The ideological end justifies the means participants use in violence, which otherwise, they would be reluctant to use in private conflicts. Here, intellectuals who happen to be

“ideologists” transform conflicts into struggles of eternal truth subject to the structure of society. They can produce profound effects in closed societies while in open societies impact of the ideologies is less owing to manifold crisscrossed conflicts in such societies (International Encyclopedia of Social sciences, 1968: 234).

Thus it becomes clear again that there are varied faces of violence in society. Individuals cooperate with each other for proper functioning of the society, but sometimes they may cooperate in different terms where use of violence is legitimized as in wars and revolutions. Usually cooperation is aimed at stability and order, but the use of cooperative violence for certain deliberate ends is legitimized on the grounds of greater order and stability. There is rationalization of violence where use of violence is justified by the group and is not counted as an aberration or disruption. Similarly, individuals compete with each other for certain ends yet at the base there is cooperation about the rules of the game, although at times competitions may turn violent as in business dealings. The competition as such is healthy for the progress and development of society but the violent competitions at times add to disorder and destabilization of society. When we talk about conflict, the first thing which comes in our mind is antagonism, rivalries, disruptions, defilement, chaos and violence, yet conflict can't be negative always leading to dissension and disruption in society, it may at times work as an integrating and binding force in the parties/groups involved in conflict.

1.3 Violence and its Construction

Since the advent of human civilization, violence has been an ubiquitous phenomena associated with the human race. The early days of human society are

often connoted with terms like 'barbaric' and 'savage' society. The violence commanded the respect being justified in terms like 'bravery', 'heroic', 'fearless'. Even in the so called civilized world of today, violence creeps in our lives; it is in our homes, in our relations, at work places, in the information technology and media, in the neighbourhood, in the state, and in the world as a whole. The only difference is that the vocabulary has change from 'barbaric' and 'savage' to 'democratic', 'patriotic', 'sanitization', 'correction', etc. for legitimate use of violence and the terms like 'terrorist', 'rouge', 'dictatorship', 'fundamentalism', etc. qualify one to be a legitimate receptor of violence. This affirms the fact that violence is socially constructed, culturally determined and politically directed.

Violence is socially constructed. It means that it is a collectivity on the basis of its norms and values, which determines an act to be violent or nonviolent. These norms and values of society pass from one generation to another through the process of socialization, through various agencies and institutions of society. But at the same time it is also true that societies change with changing times, thus bringing a formidable change in norms and values governing the society. It is mainly because of progress of society and through the process of acculturation. This directly implies that an act termed to be normal at a certain period of time in a society may be termed as violent by the same society at another period of time. e.g., the tradition of 'Sati' considered to be normal in the traditional Hindu society of India some time back was termed as violent and even governed by legal sanction in the independent India. Similarly, aggression of one state by the other state for certain territorial gains was considered as a normal thing in ancient and medieval societies, but in modern societies it is termed as violence and denounced

by all. Another example is that of child marriage and child labour considered to be normal acts by our society earlier are now accepted as violent and legal safeguards have been provided for the same.

From the fact that violence is socially constructed we may move to a simpler fact that violence is culturally determined. This is because it is culture basically which is the essence of societies and is responsible for their perpetuation. The societies remain functional only when culture is passed to subsequent generations. It is a store house of knowledge which defines each and every act in the society. At the same time it is true that culture is not static it is a dynamic entity and may change with time through certain processes, be it acculturation, accommodation, assimilation etc. This directly implies that an act termed to be normal in one culture may be termed as violent in another culture. As an example the caribou Indians, who lived west of Hudson Bay in Canada practiced geronticide and infanticide in case of non availability of food, a practice which is totally violent in the context of modern civilized societies (Harlampos & Heald, 1980:4).

There is also difference in opinion about behavior patterns within societies owing to allegiance of members to different cultures within the society. A related example is that of tribal traditions (marriage etc) which appear to be violent for rest of the Indian society.

Again there is a tendency in every culture to change with time as already pointed out above , so that certain behaviors which were treated normal earlier at some point of time are treated as violent later at some another point of time. e.g.,

Culture of war glorified by societies a few centuries ago is now looked down upon by most democratic societies.

It is pertinent to mention here that cultures which recommend abstention from violence are combined and intertwined with strands accepting violence. In such cases rationalization is used to justify violence (Houben & Van Kooij, 1999:3-4). A clear cut example is the Indian society based on tenets of non violence yet it glorifies rather rationalizes use of violence in the epics like Ramayana, Mahabharata etc., which is closely related to religious faith. Similarly, Muslim culture though believes in peaceful coexistence of all human beings yet at the same time it rationalizes use of violence in jihad.

Violence is also politically directed. Although it may not be the case always, it is basically the group violence or violence involving collectivities where violence is politically directed. The violence in such cases is guided by an ideology, which is super individual. It draws clear cut battle lines between the opposing groups. The interests of the contending parties are made to appear diametrically opposite to that of the other. The ends are clearly defined and it is the political elite who are at the helm of affairs on both the sides. Sometimes ideology becomes so strong that reason is killed and collectivities behave as non human entities controlled by political elite. Examples are that of communal violence , where violence is fanned owing to some political gains by political elite or pogroms, where state machinery is used on the basis of political ideology to wipe out the minorities by a majority community as in Serbia and close at home in Gujarat. Marx's theory of class conflict is also a case of conflict where violence is politically directed to control the state of affairs of oppression and exploitation

resorted to by capitalists and thereby transfers power to proletariat. Another similar example is of violent nature of Indian national movement, shops selling foreign clothes and liquor were targeted by people in political processions and at the same time spun and handmade khadi was propagated. They went to jail in the non cooperation movements, faced lathis, teargas and bullets during public demonstrations.

Having discussed the concept and extent of violence in detail, it seems necessary for me to carve out a well defined sphere for my study of violence out of this vast field.

The area of my interest is the valley of Kashmir (district of Anantnag being the unit of my study), the unresolved dispute between the two close neighbours India and Pakistan, simply an offshoot of the black day of partition. Though Kashmir is often dubbed as paradise on earth, its crystal clear streams, charming lakes, blossoming gardens, lush green slopes, snow covered peaks, fun loving and peace loving people, the cultural mosaic of brotherhood, tolerance and accommodation have attracted people all over the globe and mesmerized them with its beautiful locales and poetic scenes. It fired their imaginations and made them to travel back again and again to drown themselves in the beauty of valley and its people. But for the past almost two decades valley has been torn by the continuous violence going on its land, thus snatching its beauty and peace. The bloody gunfights, grenade attacks, IED blasts, landmines and occasional suicide bombings have become order of the day. The local armed militia sometimes backed by acolytes from neighbouring Pakistan and Afghanistan, the specialists in guerilla warfare are involved in open confrontations with Indian troops. It is a sort

of cold war between going on between the two close neighbours India and Pakistan and unfortunate battle ground is the valley of Kashmir, where guns keep blazing in streets, markets and sometimes in the courtyards of the houses of local populace. The ultimate victims of this violence happen to be the people of Kashmir, who suffer physically, socially, economically and emotionally, simply the worst sufferers (Details of the dispute will be provided in the next chapter). Although they have suffered from the both the parties to violence, but they have suffered most at the hands of government security forces. Besides acting against militants in the counter insurgency operations, they commit human rights violations on local people at will. They have been bestowed with special powers by the state like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) and Disturbed Areas Act (DAA), which grants them impunity to commit any atrocious act. The armed guerillas fighting for the independence of Kashmir have got a formidable support from local population. They are involved in firings, bombings, kidnappings, killings as part of their operational tactics but the victims of this violence besides troops are local people also, who lose kith and kin, property, business, undergo deformities and become fearful and terrorized. The militants happen to target government informers, civil servants, politicians and renegades often, but they also happen to be the Kashmiris first, thereby affecting a Kashmiri family and a Kashmiri woman in particular. The armed government forces are similarly involved in cordons, firings, custodial deaths, deliberate killings, crossfire killings, razing of houses, rape, frisking, torture, interrogation, detention, enforced disappearance, raids, beating, outraging modesty. Simply they have got license to commit every atrocious act and are unleashing a reign of terror on local

populace. It clearly shows the institutionalization of violence, where violence is used as a tool to crush the resistance. But the sad part of the story is that whether a militant, a policeman, a counter insurgent or a common man is killed, it is always a Kashmiri family, a Kashmiri woman, a Kashmiri child who suffers one way or the other way. This vicious circle of violence has become order of the day in contemporary Kashmir, thus making hell out of the paradise.

It is in this background the present study has been conducted in the south Kashmir district of Anantnag, which has been the hub of insurgency and counter insurgency operations. The Anantnag has been in the news most of the times during these years of conflict for the violent acts committed by various agencies involved in violence.

Following the categorization of violence as given by Prof. Ganesh Bahadur Mali (Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal) above, the field of this study falls under the second category as given by him, which is:

“Violence as acts of terror usually committed to promote fear or to weaken resistance and opposition against some ulterior motives”.

He further qualifies it by pointing out that both oppressor and oppressed use different forms of violence to achieve some ulterior motives. This clearly matches with the aim of my study where I have to unravel the use of brute force both from above and below, its repercussions on the social structure particularly family as a unit and women as a category.

The field of this study becomes more precise following Omar Khalidi's typology of violence. He overall categorizes violence into four types and later into subtypes, the area of my study falls under the following type as given by him.

“Societal violence: that is, violence affecting the total structure of a given society. Such as-

- (i) Violence from below- revolution or revolt.
- (ii) Violence from above- suppression or counter revolution
- (iii) Civil war.”

The subtypes (i) and (ii) clearly fit the object of my study as discussed above, so I leave the subcategory (iii).

The state of Jammu and Kashmir has a long treacherous political history; the rise of Islam in the state followed by Hindu and Buddhist traditions needs a special mention to understand the region. The accession of state with India and subsequent political games by India and Pakistan plunged state into a constant uncertainty. The uncertainty, disorder and the mistrust crept in, which found its vent in the form of violent revolution from below to change the existing social order. The goal has been to achieve the complete independence and the Kashmiris are struggling for their cause even now.

The family happens to be the basic unit of society around which the activities of its members are structured. The individual members complete the family unit and family in turn satisfies the needs of the members through various functions. The violence has taken its toll on the vital functions of the family. The functions of socialization, economic security, emotional security and educational security of the family stand defiled. The violence has also affected the family economy and authority, because of multi-centered violence and new violent norms prevalent in the society. The result has been the anomic state of society resulting in deep individual, family and societal disorganization.

The women happen to be the gender category affected most by the violence, in fact doubly. A woman suffers directly when she herself is hit by violence bodily and indirectly when anyone in the household is hit by violence. She happens to be a mother, a daughter, a sister, a wife, who has to bear the pain of other members of the family. The bane of widowhood and half widowhood has torn her apart socially, emotionally and economically. In the course of events, she along with her children has faced the pressures of violence often and that too lethally. She has sacrificed her desires to bring up her children, but she experienced multiple role conflicts while running the household and maintaining the family existence. Added to this, being a symbol of honour and pride in a patriarchal society like Kashmir, she is the soft target of stranger forces, who target her to demoralize the men in resistance. She is molested, raped or physically harmed in the process. Being symbolized as an object of honour, she is often restricted to secure environs of home and strict codes of conduct are been implemented upon her by her own people, thereby, restricting her movement, work participation and her educational attainments. The children have even not been spared by violence, the death of earning members of the family result in school dropout and break in education of children. At times these tender souls have to go for work in order to run the family smoothly. The violent incidents often leave permanent marks on their psyche, shattering them emotionally and mentally.

The agencies of violence both militants and security forces have resorted to blatant human rights violations. The security forces often act on mere suspicion, targeting anyone, detaining, interrogating and killing people. The people are

subjected to cordons, frisking, harassment, interrogation, killings, disappearances, extra judicial killings, fake encounters on routine basis. Similarly, militants often act against government informers, policemen, civil servants, politicians and renegades, sometimes targeting their families too, who also happen to be Kashmiris first. The victims are often treated in brutal ways by both the agencies. But, despite that security forces who one expects to exercise maximum restraint have been more unscrupulous and atrocious than the militants in their acts. With the backing of special powers like AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act) and DAA (Disturbed Areas Act) providing them impunity from prosecution, they act at will and often violently.

The Kashmir issue needs a fast resolution and for that the will of the contenders India and Pakistan is a pre requisite. Otherwise every attempt to solve this quagmire issue will meet with a failure. For the peace to prevail, the parties to the conflict have to shun the inhibitions and act for the lasting peace of the region for a vibrant India, a vibrant Pakistan and a vibrant Kashmir.

Chapter 2

The Methodology

2.1 Field profile

District Anantnag is situated in the south and south western direction of the Kashmir valley. Geographically the district lies between 33°-20' to 34°-15' north latitude and 74°-30' to 75°-35' east longitude, bounded in the north and north-west by Srinagar and Pulwama districts respectively and in the north east by Kargil district. It is also bounded by Doda and Kishtwar tehsil of Doda district in the east and south east. It is bordered by tehsil Gool Gulab Garh of Udhampur district, Ramban Tehsil of Doda district and tehsil Budhal of Rajouri district in the south and south-west. However, its western portion is contiguous with Mendhar tehsil. Its entire southern sector and major part of the eastern region is vegetated by thick forests and mountains. On the west the district is bounded by mighty Pir Panchal range mountains, through which passes the world famous Jawahar Tunnel, the gate way to the valley of Kashmir. The district is at a distance of 55 kms from the state capital Srinagar with an area of 3984 Sq. Kms. According to census 2001 the population of the district is 11.70 lacs. The district is also called the granary of the Kashmir Valley as it is agriculturally very fertile. The district is predominantly rural and situated at an average height of 1700 meters above sea level. The people of the district are mostly engaged in agriculture, principal crops being Rice and Maize. The districts comprises of 5 Tehsils and 12 community development blocks (<http://anantnag.nic.in/profile.htm>).

The sample population under study has been collected from five tehsils of the district namely Kulgam, Pahalgam, Bijbehara, Anantnag and Dooru. The total sample size is 250, distributed in terms of various variables as follows:

Map 1: Map of District Anantnag



Source: <http://anantnag.nic.in/profile.htm>

Variable	Category	Number	Variable	Category	Number
Age	Lower Age	107	Education	Illiterate	60
	Middle Age	90		Educated	135
	Upper Age	53		Highly Educated	55
Location	Rural	144	Gender	Male	153
	Urban	106		Female	97
Marital Status	Married	92	Occupation	Employed	71
	Unmarried	135		Unemployed	44
	Divorced	6		Business	30
Income	Widow/Widower	17	Family Size	Student	80
				Farmer/Artisan	25
Income	Low	79	Family Size	Nuclear	173
	Middle	125		Joint	77
	Higher	46			

The data has been quantified on the basis of percentage and cross tabulated with above mentioned variables where ever necessary.

2.2 Research Design

A research design is a plan through which various phases of inquiry can be brought under control. It is one of the essential exercises of any research process.

To design is to plan; that is, design is the process of making decisions before the situation arises in which the decision has to be taken. It is a process of deliberate anticipation directed towards bringing an unexpected situation under control (Ackoff, 1953:5). Yin comments, “The design is the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to study’s initial research questions and, ultimately, to its conclusions” (Yin, 2003:20). According to Selltiz, “A research design is an arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure” (Selltiz & Jahoda, 1969:50). Research design is a systematic outline of the way in which a particular research will be carried out (Srivastava, 2004: 5). Thus, entire process of research design involves how to collect data, how to arrange and organize it to get a meaningful result.

The research is designed according to the purpose of the research. It may be an Exploratory Study with an aim to gain minimum familiarity or insight into the phenomenon, Descriptive Study to reveal the characteristics of a particular situation or a group, Diagnostic Study to determine frequency with which something occurs or with which it happens to be associated with other thing or an Experimental Study to test a causal relationship between variables (Wilkinson & Bhandarkar, 2000:102).

The above mentioned categorisation of different types of studies is not fixed or permanent. The classification is for the purpose of convenience and hence tentative. The problem under study has been conducted in the district Anantnag of Jammu and Kashmir. The effect of violence on family and women in the armed violence has to be worked out and it will be an exploratory work in this regard as

no in depth study is yet available and the literature is limited although there is abundance of it in the political and historical context. Because the area has remained hitherto unexplored so the need for exploratory research design is justified. In exploratory studies the premium is on the discovery of ideas and insights and hence happens to be flexible to incorporate different aspects of the phenomena. The main purpose is to formulate a more precise and structured investigation or of developing hypotheses. It may be further helpful in clarification of concepts, establishing priorities for future research. Katz says exploratory studies “represent the earlier stage of science”. Path breaking explorations are particularly complex affairs. It is like starting from a scratch without guide posts or yard sticks. The only resource available is the concepts that researcher can borrow from other fields or from common language. He needs to create his own guide posts and schemes of classification. He must be able to decide what to look for and what to ignore, what to record and what not to, what clues to follow and what to abandon and what is of consequence and what is trivial (Wilkinson & Bhandarkar, 2000:103-05).

The 13 month field work has been carried out between October 2006 and November 2007. Before the field work a detailed literature review on violence and its effects was conducted which helped the researcher to formulate the research problem. The data has been collected through various methods. The field work has been divided into three parts:

1. Preliminary visit (October 13th 2006 to December 5th 2006).
2. Main visit (March 7th 2007 to 23rd August 2007).
3. Final visit (October 5th 2007 to November 29th 2007).

In the first visit, the prime localities for the study and potential respondents were identified. An attempt was made to build a rapport with the respondents, but most of the respondents were reluctant owing to apprehension that the researcher might be from some agency. Being an insider it was helpful to communicate with the respondents in their own language. Some educated persons were contacted in each area who turned out to be key informants to locate respondents for the case study. The informants were even helpful during the main field work which started from March 7th 2007. The methods of data collection were interview, schedule and observation. The schedule comprised of 50 questions, each having 5 responses. It was at times difficult to get the responses from the respondents owing to the nature of the schedule, where respondents felt insecure to divulge out any information, but the accompanying informants as pointed above convinced the respondents of their respective areas that the information will be secure and there was no reason for being fearful. The questions ranged from the support to movement, victimization in conflict, agencies involved in victimization, family and loss of its functions in the violence, effects of violence on women, change in norms and values of society, education and violence etc. Non participant observation technique was applied to ward off any biases on the part of researcher as the researcher being from the same society might have left certain areas untouched. The third and final visit was made to the field in order to fill the gaps in the field work conducted.

The sampling method was used to select the respondents from the five tehsils of the district. The method consisting of selecting for the study a portion of the 'universe' with a view to drawing conclusions about the 'universe' or

‘population’ is known as sampling. A statistical sample ideally purports to be a miniature model or replica of the collectivity or population constituted of all the items that the study should encompass (Wilkinson & Bhandarkar, 2000: 265). A total sample size of 250 respondents was drawn with 50 each from the five tehsils of Kulgam, Bijbehara, Pahalgam, Anantnag and Dooru. The population of the district is predominantly rural, but considerable number of urban respondents has been included in the sample. Non probability Judgement sampling has been used for the purpose. A common strategy of purposive or Judgement sampling is to pick the cases that are judge to typical of the population in which one is interested (Wilkinson & Bhandarkar, 1984: 289-90). The sample is representative of various variables like location, income, age, gender, education, occupation of the respondents.

The data has been quantified and analysed using percentage analysis. To supplement quantitative data some case studies have also been conducted to ascertain the genuineness of the findings. Therefore, both qualitative and quantitative methods have been employed, because sometimes statistical analysis fails to reveal the social reality. Many sociologists although are of the opinion that research should integrate quantitative and qualitative methods for getting better results. Myrdal points out “The ideal community should start out from a careful statistical analysis of vital, social, and economic data concerning the individuals and families making up the community being studied. The less measurable data on attitudes, cultural traits, behaviour patterns in which social stratification is expressed, and the feeling of social status or toward social status on the part of

members of various groups, should then be observed and the results integrated into the framework of statistical knowledge (quoted in Srivastava, 2004: 8).

Case study method has been employed to analyse data qualitatively. Case study method involves an intensive study of small number of situations in which emphasis is on understanding the subject of investigation as a whole and all aspects of cases are investigated. This method is used to capture qualitative aspects of social life. It is way of organizing social data so as to preserve the unitary character of the object being studied. The method is thought to be useful in probing many facets of the social unit under study.

Sociologists and social anthropologists use the method with a view of describing qualitative aspects of the social life which they thought cannot be captured merely by statistical methods. In order to describe the characteristics of the whole unit, some cases are selected with the assumption that they represent the whole unit. Cases are constructed either with the help of life history documents such as personal diaries, letters and autobiographies or by making genealogical charts. Sharing the experience with the individual being studied conducting personal interviews and using folk songs, ballads and other techniques which are used for portraying qualitative characteristics of the unit being studied (Goode & Hatt, 1981:314). P.V.Young has defined case study as “Case study is a method of exploring and analysing the life of a social unit be that unit a person, family, institution, culture group or even an entire community. Its aim is to determine the factors that account for complex behavior patterns of the unit to its surrounding milieu. Case study may be gathered on entire life cycle or on a definite section of the life cycle of a unit but always with a view of ascertaining the natural history of

the social unit and its environment” (Young, 1963:229). ‘The Case study method is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports) and reports a case description and case-based themes’ (Creswell, 2007: 73). There are 14 case studies taken from different localities of the field. The case studies highlight the various aspects of the victimisation, exploitation, misery and distress of the respondents in a conflict situation.

In the present study schedule has been administered extensively to the sample population and the findings have been supplemented by relevant case studies. After the recording of data, it had to be codified and from the tabulated data inferences have been drawn, supported with other relevant data from other secondary sources.

2.3 Significance of the study

The next problem to deal with is to explain whether the area of my inquiry will be of any sociological significance and its relevance to be added to sociological knowledge storehouse.

The problem I am going to deal with is one of the particular cases of vast number of such cases round the globe, the violence inflicted territories of the world. Where violence is employed to either gain control of territories or consolidate the hold, in the name of democracy and in the name of crushing rebellion, fundamentalism or establishing order. Be it the South American states like Peru, Cuba; the Balkan states like Bosnia Herzegovina and Yugoslavia; the

African states Rwanda, Ethiopia, Sudan; the European states like Ireland or the Asian states like Afghanistan, Iraq, Sri Lanka or India (Kashmir), the violence has been used as a tool by both state and anti state elements for the gains on their respective sides. The field of my interest (Kashmir) is a special case on which lies the future course of peace and progress in South Asian subcontinent. The vexed issue of Kashmir needs an immediate attention to be resolved fast and this piece of research will add some insights from the inside story, the story of oppressed people. The study will highlight the play of violence, its forms, and the extent to which it interferes in the normal lives of its victims. The violence has certain implications for the society as a whole and the family as a unit and women as a category will be the special cases of attention in this endeavour of exposing the monstrous play of violence in conflict situations like Kashmir. It would be an eye opener for contending parties, so that they may shun the violence and act for peace at the earliest.

The above account clearly shows the sociological relevance of the study and will certainly have deep implications for the future researches to be carried out in the violence related studies.

2.4 Objectives of the study

The continued violence has almost intersected the lives of every Kashmiri from a child in the lap of a mother to a man at the threshold of his grave. It has made their lives miserable and the worst affected are family as a unit and women as a category. The research aims at to search for the following effects of violence:

- Who is the Victim? What are the different forms of the violence? Where they are victimised? Who is the perpetrator?

- What is the form of loss of victims? What is the status of victims? And after effects of the victimization on family as a unit and women as a category.
- How family as a unit has been affected in terms of change in its basic functions. The impact of violence on family economy and authority.
- The effect of violence on norms and values of society and the resulting individual, family and societal disorganization.
- The effect of violence on women as a gender category both directly (Victim) and indirectly being a mother, a sister, a daughter or a wife of the victim.
- The bane of widowhood and half widowhood on women.
- The fake encounters, disappearances and long detentions and the resulting effects on family and women.
- The effects of violence on health and maternity services, especially emergency services.
- The effect of violence on women in terms of role performance, role conflict and unhealthy transfer of roles.
- The effect of violence on education especially in relation to school dropout and women education.
- The various agencies involved in violence, their modus operandi and the extent of infliction on people.

Chapter 3

Kashmir: A Geopolitical Sketch

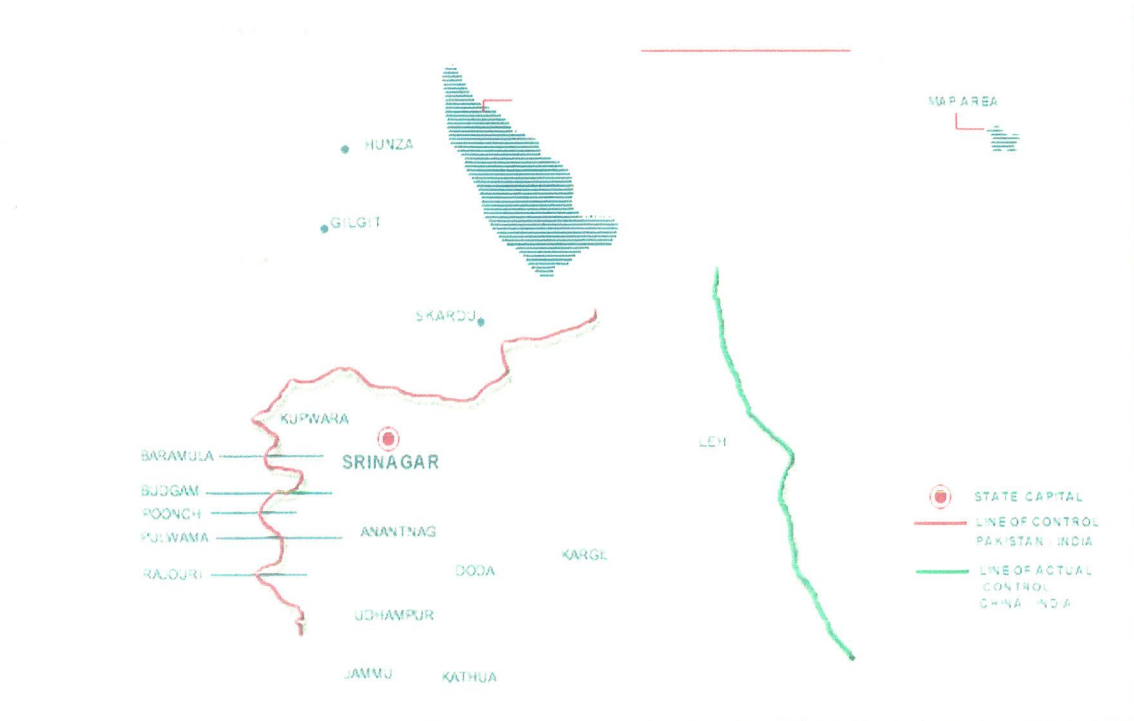
The valley of Kashmir one of the beautiful places in the world is an oval structure, surrounded by Himalayan ranges from all its sides. Limpid lakes, snow capped peaks, vibrant streams, lush green meadows, thick green forests and breath taking vistas dot the landscape. State as a whole is situated between 32.17 degree and 36.58 degree north latitude and 74.76 degree and 80.30 degree east longitude with an area of 222,236 sq.kms (Bhatt & Bhargava, 2005:35). It is a region of extreme geopolitical significance. State as a whole has its northern extremities touching with Afghanistan, on east its boundaries meet Chinese territories, on west its boundary runs parallel to Pakistan and on south its boundary opens the gateway for the rest of the India.

3.1 The Rise of Islam

The ancient history of Kashmir can be traced to great rule of Ashoka, who sent Buddhist missionaries to Kashmir, followed by kushan invasion from north. The kushan kings like kanishka endorsed art, architecture and learning and it was a period of intellectual resurgence. The economic life of people prospered and the period is described as “Golden Age”. Lalitaditya (early 8th century) ruled the Kashmir followed by Awantiwarman.

The first known convert to Islam was the ruler of the time, Rinchan Shah (1320-1323), who embraced Islam at the hands of a missionary named Bulbul Shah and assumed the name of Sultan Sadr-ud-Din. Rinchan Shah's conversion to Islam marks a turning point in the history of Kashmir as it was followed by the conversion of a large number of people. After a brief Hindu rule, Shah Mir assumed throne in 1339 A.D.

Map 2: Map of Jammu and Kashmir



Source: South Asia Terrorism Portal (<http://www.satp.org/tracking/Goto.asp?ID=137%20>)

It seems pertinent to examine briefly the society of Kashmir which Islam encountered. When Islam came to Kashmir, the society was characterized by structured social relationships where the systems, institutions and ideologies did not function uniformly. Islam had to face dominant Hinduism and the enfeebled Buddhism. Both the religions had got corrupted and were not in their pristine form. A number of the cults had emerged both within Buddhism and Hinduism. Many non-conformist movements had arisen which weakened the position of Brahmanism. At times, such revolts found open expression in the ruthless defilement of idols (Wani, 2004: 151). Buddhism, the second largest religion of Kashmir, was reduced to a religion of idolatry and sorcery. The kings of the time patronized corruption and immorality. The dominant minority wanted to maintain status quo whereas the masses were trying to get freedom from their cruel masters. The state of affairs provided a fertile ground for the mass conversion to Islam in Kashmir. Islam offered an escape to Hindus from the oppression of higher castes. "Islam is a force of volcanic sort, a burning and integrating force, which under favorable conditions may even make a nation" (Risley, 1915: 217). Conversion to Islam was mainly carried out by the Persian and central Asian missionaries. Kashmir figures among those cases of Islamization which do not fall within the category of what is called "the militant expansion of Islam" or "Conversion under Muslim political rules established by conquest" (Wani, 2004: VI). It was essentially a peaceful conversion carried out by Muslim missionaries.

The first great king of Muslim period was Shahab-ud-din who assumed throne in 1354. He had deep regard for religious feelings of all his subjects. The landmark event in the history of the spread of Islam in Kashmir is the arrival of

Sayyid Ali Hamadani with his 700 disciples in 1384. They adopted a policy of Islamization of the royal family and the court as a prerequisite for Islamizing the people. They mainly preached ethical values and social justice as provided in Islam which must have made a magnetic appeal to the oppressed and downtrodden masses of Kashmir. After Sayyid Ali Hamadani mission was carried forward by his son Mir Mohammad Hamadani. Many religious institutions were opened up which set pace for the Islamic conversions. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470 AD) augmented prosperity of the region again. He was tolerant towards Brahmins and patronized scholars and intellectuals. Popularly known as “budshah” he rebuilt many temples and introduced many arts like hand weaving and *papier machie*. During this period an indigenous Sufi movement known as Rishi movement arose in Kashmir under the leadership of its founder Sheikh Noor-al-Din (1379-1442). He won many conversions to Islam due to his charismatic and saintly personality. Baba Zain-al-Din, Baba Latif-al-Din, Baba Nasir al-Din are some other prominent rishis of Kashmir. Rishis furthered the spread of Islam by their extreme piety and utter self abrogation (Sofi, 1979: 40). Ishaq khan is of the opinion that majority of population was brought into the Islamic fold not by missionaries of Persia, but by the rishis (Khan, 1978: 178-179). By close of 15th century Muslims formed a majority community of the Kashmir.

3.2 Kashmir under Dogra Rule

There was a certain political instability after Zain-ul-Abidin’s reign and finally in 1586 Kashmir came under the Mughal fold. Among the Mughals Akbar’s son and successor Jahangir, who ascended throne in 1605 AD is known for his love for Kashmir. Under his patronage around 700 gardens came up in

Kashmir and subsequently the place became a summer resort for Mughal nobility. Bernier in his account writes 'I am charmed with kachemire. In truth, the kingdom surpasses the beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated'. For people he writes 'are celebrated for wit and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians' (Bernier, 1969:400). The shawl industry set up by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin was flourishing day by day. The Mughal hold on Kashmir was weakened by Nadir shah's invasion of Delhi in 1738. In 1757, Ahmed shah Durrani an Afghan annexed Kashmir. Afghan rule saw cruelty and plunder all around, people were enslaved and sent to Afghanistan, the famous shawl industry was thrown into tatters. By 1780's only 16,000 shawl looms had survived compared to 40,000 during Mughal rule (Bamzai, 1973:426).

The Sikh power was rising from south; Ranjit Singh annexed Lahore in 1799, followed by Amritsar in 1802. In 1819 he took Kashmir into the Sikh fold. The condition of people under Sikh rule was abject as Moorcroft writes 'everywhere the people were in most abject condition, exorbitantly taxed by Sikh government and subjected to every kind of extortion and oppression by its officers. The consequences of this system are gradual depopulation of the country' (Moorcroft and Trebeck, 1841:123). Similarly there are numerous accounts from travellers who unravel the state of misery under Sikh rule. Godfrey Vigne writes that the common Kashmiri was either a victim of sickness or starvation (Vigne, 1842:257).

After Ranjit Singh's death in 1838, there was gradual deterioration of relations among Sikhs and British. Ranjit Singh had also created a Dogra raja under his patronage in 1822 (Raja Gulab Singh). During the first Anglo-Sikh war

Gulab Singh remained neutral and facilitated in ratifying a treaty of peace between the two at Lahore on 9th March 1846 whereby Sikhs ceded Kashmir and Hazara to British. Later on 16th March 1846 Gulab Singh signed the treaty of Amritsar with British whereby he took possession of Kashmir for 75 lakh rupees. By treaty of Amritsar Gulab Singh no longer remained feudatory of Sikhs and during second Anglo-Sikh war (1848), he actively supported British.

The condition of the common Kashmiri under Dogra rule was abject and poor, the British had no right to intervene in the affairs of the state on account of treaty of Amritsar. Ranbir Singh, the son of Gulab Singh assumed throne in 1856. He helped British in suppressing the 1857 Mutiny and in reward the state was left out from the ambit of "Doctrine of Lapse" as long as it remained loyal to the Crown. The condition of people, however, didn't improve; there was widespread discontentment against the Dogra rule almost from every section of the society. Robert Throp gives a vivid account of the ground realities during Dogra rule. He describes a people 'whose characteristics (both intellectual and moral) give evidence of former greatness, trampled upon by a race in every way inferior to themselves and steadily deteriorating under the influence of an oppressive despotism, which bars the way to all improvement, whether social, intellectual or religious'. Death or migration is the only escape from this form of servitude. The shawl makers worked for pittance. 'Of almost everything produced by the soil, the government takes a large proportion and the numerous officials who are employed in collecting it are paid by an award of so much grain from the share of landlords'(Throp, 1870:8-9). There was gradual deterioration of life and economy of the people. There social conditions were abject. Alistair Lamb quotes lord

Kimberley, secretary of the state for India 'the intervention of the British government on behalf of the Mohammadan population has already been long delayed' (Lamb, 1991:13). The quote just shows the extent of exploitation of the native Muslim population under Dogra rule.

In order to safeguard their Indian interests, the British finally succeeded in appointing Colonel John Bidduph as first Officer on Special Duty (OSD) in Gilgit in Ranbir Singh's area of influence to ward off any Russian onslaught. After Ranbir Singh's death (15th September, 1885), the British installed his eldest son Pratap Singh as the new Maharaja and at the same time appointed Colonel O. St John resident political advisor who acted as his advisor in the reform of the administration. The reforms announced by Maharaja although couldn't come out with positive results because of incapable and corrupt officers (Teng, Bhat, Kaul, 1977:27). Sometime later Walter Lawrence who came to Kashmir described condition of people as worse than that of the Third estate in France before French Revolution (Lawrence, 1895:2). Meanwhile, Pratap Singh was deposed on charges of treason and Amar Singh became the Prime Minister and real power laid with the British.

During the late 19th century valley became a tourist destination for European visitors. House boats sprung up on famous Dal Lake. Shawl makers, embroidery workers, Carpet weavers and Papier Machie workers benefitted from the visiting tourists. However, common people were in abject poverty and only a small minority having allegiance with Dogras were affluent. The Europeans also served as doctors, teachers and missionaries in the region. For improvement of administration, Govt. of India appointed Bengali and Punjabi officers because of

lack of educated and trained Kashmiris to fulfill these posts. The Kashmiri pandits benefitted from better education, while as at the same time the Muslim majority remained excluded. As Canon Tyndale Biscoe observes 'the Mohammadans did not send their sons to school as all government service was closed to them' (Biscoe, 1951:52). Subsequently Anjuman-i- Nusratul Islam was formed in 1905 to improve the educational condition of Muslims.

Pratap Singh died (25th September, 1925) and was succeeded by Hari Singh. He too proved to be a no good ruler. Outsiders continued to be in the government service, which led to a movement known as 'Kashmir for the Kashmiris' sponsored by the more educated Kashmiri Pandits (Schofield, 2004:17). In 1927, a law defining a "Hereditary State Subject" was passed forbidding employment of non-state subjects in the public service; they were not even allowed to purchase the land. But the law benefitted ruling class Dogra Rajputs and Kashmiri pandits and the vast majority of the Muslims were left out aggrieved. Some educated Muslims, mostly graduates from Aligarh Muslim University became active in discussing grievances of Muslims. Prem Nath Bazaz, Ghulam Abbas and Muhammad Yusuf Shah were some active members of the Reading Room Party. In 1931, Mohd Yusuf Shah became Mirwaiz and used the pulpit to protest against the Maharaja's government. Prior to that in 1930, a young graduate from Aligarh Muslim University, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah became the member of the Reading Room Party, who later rose to prominence as the 'Lion of Kashmir'.

In July 1931, an episode took place, Abdul Qadir a butler in the service of a European made a fiery speech calling people to fight against the oppression. After

his arrest, crowds thronged the jail leading to subsequent arrests. Further protests led to Police firing leading to death of 21 people. Their bodies were carried to the center of the town; Hindu shops were broken into and looted. Sheikh Abdullah points out 'our Dogra rulers unleashed a reign of terror', who was amongst the many protestors arrested (Abdullah, 1993:3). The government retaliated with further arrests, Sheikh Abdullah and other political leaders were detained too. While in jail, they discussed the formation of a political party. On their release in June 1932, the party was named as 'Muslim Conference'. Sheikh Abdullah's over emphasis on secularism later led to internal discord and several prominent leaders including Mirwaiz Muhammad Yusuf Shah broke away.

At the end of August 1938, there were widespread protests against unemployment, high taxes, revenue demands and lack of medical facilities in which Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs participated jointly and were subsequently sent to jail. On 11th June 1939, Muslim Conference changed its name to 'National Conference' being adhered to secularism. Abdullah's secular approach brought him closer to Jawaharlal Nehru who was advocating for secular and socialist India.

During World War II both Indian National Congress and Muslim League were busy in their own plan of action for an independent India or a Muslim Pakistan. The Muslims discontented with Abdullah's pro-congress stance became supporters of Muslim League. In 1941, Ghulam Abbas parted ways with Abdullah and joined Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah reviving Muslim Conference and supporting Pakistan. Meanwhile Sheikh Abdullah charted out the plan of New Kashmir, a socialist program par excellence of its time, which got eventual approval from Indian National Congress. The position of Abdullah as the dominant Muslim

leader determined future course of events in the valley. Abdullah was very close to Nehru and had never developed any understanding with Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Had any other leader taken Abdullah's place, the future of Kashmir could have been quite different (Gupte, 1992:270).

Following transfer of power and subsequent independence and partition of the country, the future of princely states was to be determined by the rulers, who were restored with full ruling powers. Sheikh Abdullah launched 'Quit Kashmir Movement' criticizing autocratic and torturous rule of Maharaja. He maintained that Maharaja was not enjoying popular support and therefore, should not be left with the decision to decide about the future of the state. While trying to reach Delhi, Sheikh was arrested and imprisoned. The state was kept under martial law and other political leaders fled to Lahore till Independence. In the months preceding Independence, Maharaja was caught in a quagmire and he couldn't maintain pace with the changing events. As Karan Singh points out 'it has always seemed to me tragic that a man as intelligent as my father and in many ways as constitutional and progressive, should have, in those last years, so grievously misjudged the political situation in the country'. But, being progressive was one thing, coping with a once in a millennium historical phenomenon was another' (Singh, 1982:41). Maharaja himself was having a dream of ruling an independent state.

At the onset of independence, independent states lost their paramountcy and were destined either to join India or Pakistan. There was rigorous political activity by Congress leaders to persuade Maharaja to join Indian dominion. Even the services of Lord Mountbatten were employed for the cause (Schofield,

2004:30-31). On 25th July 1947, Mountbatten informed the chamber of Princes that although technically and legally their states would become independent, there were certain geographical compulsions which couldn't be avoided, thus urging them to join India or Pakistan in order to make their own arrangements (Mountbatten, 1949:52). At the end of July 1947, Nehru was quite eager to visit Kashmir, but in the end arrangement was made for Mahatma Gandhi. The visit although claimed to be apolitical has been dubbed by certain commentators as political where Ghandiji is charged of pressurizing Maharaja to accede to India and remove the Prime Minister Kak. Unlike Congress none of the Muslim leaders visited the state during the course of partition.

Under the partition plan of June 3, 1947, Sir Radcliffe arrived in India on July 8, 1947. The provinces of Punjab and Bengal were to be divided with Muslim majority areas going to Pakistan and Hindu majority areas going to India. Under the 'Notional award' provided in the first schedule of the Indian Independence Act, all of the Gurdaspur district with 51.41% Muslim majority had been assigned to Pakistan. Incidentally under such circumstances all the routes by which Kashmir could be reached would have come under the control of Pakistan. But on June 4, Mountbatten suggested that boundary commission is unlikely going to award whole of Gurdaspur to Pakistan, thus delineating from the Notional award. Finally out of four tehsils, three went to India and only one tehsil was awarded to Pakistan. Later geographical and religious reasons were sighted for such an award (Schofield, 2004:34-35). The departure from Notional award to Radcliffe division of Gurdaspur between the two dominions has created considerable bitterness among Pakistanis, not only because of loss of territory but it assured the access of

India to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. M.J.Akbar opines that it was Nehru's concern for the defense of Kashmir and his subsequent pursuance of Mountbatten during private meetings to leave this Gurdaspur link in Indian hands (Akbar, 1991:98). Schofield terms it to be an oversimplification, but in view of inadequate explanation and secrecy surrounding Radcliffe award, the belief has held fast among Pakistanis that there was a conspiracy between Nehru and Mountbatten to deprive Pakistan of Gurdaspur (Schofield, 2004:38). Pakistan was apprehensive of both India and Britain. As suhrawarthy writes 'the object of grabbling Kashmir was to encircle Pakistan militarily and strangle it economically'. Further through Gilgit India would have common boundaries with Afghanistan and with joint collaboration of India and Afghanistan, the Pukhtoonistan dream of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan would have been used as a tool for military intervention (Suhrawarthy, 1991:36).

3.3 Independence and Accession

The sub-continent became independent from British rule on 14-15th August 1947 and the state of Jammu and Kashmir remained independent for nearly 73 days. Although Pakistan entered a standstill agreement with Hari Singh, India didn't enter any such agreement. This has added to the Pakistanis suspicion that India was already engaged in making arrangements for Kashmir's future. During this time whole of the sub continent was brewing with the massacres, looting and rape in the aftermath of the partition, the valley as a whole didn't witness any such incidents. However, Jammu which had a direct link with the plains couldn't escape the wrath of communalism. The Muslim minority in the region was targeted jointly by both Hindus and Sikhs and dreadfully massacred and looted. About 2

lakh Muslims were butchered, raped, disappeared and the rest fled to west Punjab. The fleeing Muslims reported that not only uncontrolled bands of hooligans but also Maharaja's organized units of Army and Police targeted them (Lamb, 1991:123).

In the weeks following Independence, both Pakistan and India were actively trying to make the accession of Kashmir to their respective dominions. As both the countries were apprehensive of each other's moves, Sheikh Abdullah was released from jail on 29th September 1947 after his arrest in 1946. Sheikh showed signs of willingness to join Indian union. He wanted to attain political sovereignty with Maharaja just enjoying a constitutional position (Schofield, 2004:44). The Prime Minister of the state Mehr Chand Mahajan, a retired Indian Judge and a member of boundary commission developed certain antagonistic relations with Jinnah during this time. As the two dominions were busy to woo Maharaja to join their respective dominion, the news came that a large number of tribal raiders had crossed borders and were heading for Kashmir. This perhaps marked the end of Pakistan's opportunity to have hold of Kashmir. Again there were claims that Pakistani highest authorities were ignorant about such development with counter claims from Indian side that operation was organized at highest level in Pakistan and code named as "Gulmarg" (Bhattacharjea, 1994:136).

The raiding tribals first liquidated a resistance at Muzzafarabad by Dogra troops and on reaching Uri they encountered with the Sikh Regiment of Patiala State (Schofield, 2004:52). Lamb suggests the presence of such exotic forces as a covert operation, because these forces came under the control of Indian union (Lamb, 1991:131). Crushing the resistance, the tribesmen marched towards

Baramulla. At Srinagar Sheikh Abdullah organized the defense of the city. But according to Korbel his image was tarnished on allegations that Hindu and Sikh refugees were being armed by the Kashmiri government to kill those whose loyalty towards Abdullah and National Conference was dubious (Korbel, 1951:77).

On October 24, 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh made an urgent appeal to the Govt. of India for help. Lord Mountbatten played every move with caution. He abstained from sending troops directly to Kashmir and instead urged that legal formalities regarding accession should be completed but that should be only temporary, prior to a referendum, plebiscite, election or even if these methods were impracticable, by representative public meetings. At the same time Nehru wanted provision to be made for Sheikh Abdullah in the Maharaja's government.

The sequence of events from October 24, when Maharaja made a request for help to October 27 when Indian troops landed in Kashmir has been a subject of debate ever since. According to the Indian official position V.P.Menon reached Srinagar on 25th of October, he first met Prime Minister Mahajan and later both went to meet Maharaja where they advised him to leave the Srinagar on the ground that raiders were near and could capture Maharaja and get any statement from him. Therefore, Maharaja left the place in early hours of 26th of October. Hari Singh's departure also has been used by various critics as a reason that he had no right to accede as he was no longer in control of his state. Meanwhile, Menon and Mahajan left for Delhi at first light in the morning of October 26th. Menon straight went to the meeting of defense committee where decision of sending Indian troops to Srinagar was taken. As related by Menon, he along with Mahajan

soon after the meeting took a plane to Jammu (Schofield, 2004:52-54). Reaching Jammu Menon met Maharaja who had to be woken up from his sleep. Maharaja wrote a long letter to Governor General describing circumstances and Mountbatten's precondition of acceding to India before help. He attached the instrument of accession for acceptance by the government of India along with the statement that Sheikh Abdullah should setup an interim government and carry responsibilities with Prime Minister Mahajan (Indian White Paper, 3 March 1948). With the instrument of Accession and letter Menon went into the meeting of defense committee, where it was decided that accession of Jammu and Kashmir should be accepted on the condition that plebiscite would be held in the state on the improvement of law and order situation. Critics like Korbel are of the opinion that Mountbatten was more interested in accession than the final determination of the will of Kashmiri people by plebiscite (Korbel, 1951:84).

On the morning of 27th October finally Indian troops landed at Srinagar airport. It is pertinent to mention here that the official version of events leading up to final accession do not match with the individual accounts. Maharaja left Srinagar in the early hours of 26th October, reached Banihal pass as the first light was beginning to break, the convoy even had to halt at Kud (a settlement 60 miles from Jammu). The journey from Srinagar to Jammu during night was expected to take 16 hours in winter in those days. The Maharaja finally reached Jammu the next morning recalls his son Karan Singh (Singh, 1982:58-59) and had already gone to sleep before Menon arrived. But going by the official account Menon was back in Delhi by the evening of 26th October meeting with the defense committee. Menon also states that Prime Minister Mahajan accompanied him to Jammu, but

Mahajan states that he was not prepared to visit the Jammu until he received news from Srinagar that Indian troops had landed. Mahajan also states that around evening of 26th, Nehru sent him a message that he should fly to Jammu along with Menon to inform Maharaja about the decision of the cabinet meeting that military aid was to be given. He also points out that deputy Prime Minister left for Delhi on 14th October along with letter of accession but Menon does not refer to this anywhere (Mahajan, 1963:152). It becomes quite clear that Menon may not have been able to reach Jammu on 26th October, but in order to support their argument, the Indian government found it necessary to maintain in the official records that Indian troops landed only after accession of the state with India. Accession before intervention gave Indians legal right to be in Kashmir and the ability to control circumstances for holding of a plebiscite. It also enabled India to reject any Pakistani proposal for simultaneous withdrawals on both sides (Lamb, 1994:99-100). Subsequently despite Pakistan's protestations, India maintained that from 16th October when instrument of accession was signed, Jammu and Kashmir was an Indian territory and therefore, the sending of troops against the raiders was a legitimate act.

Again Mountbatten's insistence on accession comes under scanner. Earlier to counter Poonch rebellion, India promised an unconditional help, but now the accession was made mandatory before the state could receive help. Secondly, there was no appeal made to United Nations and Pakistan was never taken into confidence to avert the crisis. Schofield writes that according to Philip Ziegler, Mountbatten's official biographer 'if there had been no accession, the Indian presence in Kashmir would have been more evidently temporary..... By

exaggerating legalism, Governor General (Mountbatten) helped bring about the result he most feared: the protracted occupation of Kashmir by India with no attempt to show that it enjoyed popular support' (Schofield, 2004:59).

The attacking tribesmen reached Baramulla on 27th October. They ransacked, killed a large number of local people. The Saint Joseph's convent was attacked and some estimates suggest 3000 people were slain. This incident has been widely condemned, but Prem Nath Bazaz in his book 'Azad Kashmir' is of the opinion that motives of the tribesmen should be considered. They wanted to liberate Kashmir from tyranny of Maharaja and Nationalist renegades. He further points out that it should not be forgotten that some members of Indian army did no less looting and molesting (as adopted in Schofield, 2004: 60). From Baramulla onwards tribesmen reached Pattan, but the bombing by Indian air force took heavy toll on infiltrators. On 31st October raiders took over Pattan, but onward onslaught looked impossible. In early November there were minor skirmishes on the outskirts of Srinagar, but by this time Indian air force launched its full scale offensive pushing tribesmen back and forcing them to retreat back to Uri.

During the same time contrary to Kashmir, the state of Junagadh ruled by Sir Mahabatkhan Rasulkanji acceded to Pakistan. The Indian government intervened and Junagadh was raided by Indian troops. The plebiscite was held, where majority Hindu population overwhelmingly voted for India. The same principle could have been applied for Kashmir, but Nehru insisted Sheikh Abdullah, as a popular leader should be publicly associated with the Indian action and brought into State government.

Meanwhile, after rebellion in Gilgit against Maharaja and its joining of Pakistan and continuous fighting in Poonch sector, the Kashmir dispute was finally taken to United Nations. In January 1948, Kashmir issue was debated in the security council of the United Nations at Lake Success, New York, with representatives from both India and Pakistan. Pakistan pleaded its case strongly and the dispute was accepted as a mutual dispute between India and Pakistan to be resolved through a plebiscite. India felt its position weakened as Pakistan's complaint was given equal consideration. On 20th January 1948, Security Council passed a resolution which established a commission called United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP). It was to investigate the facts of the dispute and carry out mediations to smooth away difficulties (Schofield, 2004:68). UNCIP outlined that final decision on the future of the state shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people. On 5th January 1949, UNCIP again affirmed that the accession of the state to India or Pakistan would be determined by free and impartial plebiscite. The fighting stopped and the ceasefire line was monitored by United Nations Military Observer Group of India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP). It was later concluded by UNCIP that the roots of the dispute were deep and the respective positions of India and Pakistan do not favour an immediate solution. India reiterated its position of control on Kashmir on the basis of accord with Maharaja, while Pakistan considered the same as a violent fraud (Schofield, 2004:69-71).

Unlike other princely states, the state of Jammu and Kashmir was accorded a special status which other princely states didn't enjoy. Legally India's jurisdiction was restricted to external affairs, defence and communication. But the

will of the people that was to be determined leading to final solution was never ascertained. Meanwhile, the gulf between the new Prime Minister Sheikh Abdullah and Maharaja went on increasing. Though instrument of accession guaranteed number of safe guards to Maharaja's sovereignty, but the popular policies of Sheikh like land reforms and creation of home guard deeply enraged Maharaja. Even his trusted acolytes in Delhi left him alone and he had to leave the state in the later years of his life. Finally Maharaja died in Bombay in 1962. His son Karan Singh first as a regent and then as Sadr-i-Riyasat remained involved in Kashmir affairs. Sheikh Abdullah after assuming charge of Prime Minister openly bore allegiance with India. M.J.Akbar points out that his land reforms had further cemented peasantry's ties with India. Sheikh assured them that such type of reforms would have been never possible in feudalistic Pakistan (Akbar, 1991:139).

Sheikh Abdullah although being loyal to India had another alternative in mind, that of Independent Kashmir. Sheikh was as adamant as Hari Singh that New Delhi's rights over state should remain confined to three areas as agreed in the Instrument of Accession, namely; foreign affairs, defence and communication. The special status of the state was admitted into Indian constitution first as Article 306-A and then finalized as Article 370. Teng and Kaul point out that the final draft didn't contain clauses related to fundamental rights and directive principles which meant whoever had the government in hand would assume dictatorial powers that could be operated absolutely (Teng & Kaul, 1975:45). In 1951, after landslide victory of Sheikh Abdullah and National Conference, Sheikh again took side of India, praising its secularist values, but sometime later in Jammu he criticized India for being communalist. In July 1952, Delhi Agreement was signed

between Sheikh Abdullah and Govt. of India in New Delhi. Article 370 was accepted, Kashmir was allowed its own flag, but Indian flag would be supreme, President of India would be the head of state including Kashmir, Governor (Sadr-i-Riyasat) would be elected by state legislature and can assume office only after consent from the President of India. The development didn't go well with the people of Jammu. Balraj Puri writes 'Accession of state to India meant transfer of power from Jammu based ruler to Kashmir based leadership' (Puri, 1993:27). There was widespread discontent against Srinagar based power in Ladakh and Jammu, who felt marginalized and threatened by Sheikh's policies especially land reforms. The Buddhists in Ladakh and Hindus in Jammu were also apprehensive of the outcome of plebiscite to be in favour of Pakistan.

In order to conduct free and fair plebiscite it was observed by UNCIP that demilitarization of the region is the prerequisite. In 1949, General A.G.L.Mcnaughton, the Canadian President of the Security Council was appointed as informal mediator for establishing a plan for demilitarization prior to plebiscite. Although Pakistan agreed to the proposals, India did not. On 27th May 1950 Australian Jurist, Sir Owen Dixon arrived in the subcontinent as one man successor to UNCIP. After extensive discussions, he made several suggestions, but on India's unfavorable response, he left suggesting matter be left to India and Pakistan to be negotiated on their own terms. The United Nations finally decided to postpone any further discussion on the issue; there were widespread protests in Pakistan though. Matter was taken up in Common Wealth in January 1951, the suggestions made were accepted by Pakistan, but India again rejected. In March 1951, Security Council again discussed the issue, where Britain and United States

suggested arbitration, Pakistan again accepted the proposal, but India rejected once again (Schofield, 2004:82-84). By 1950s, United Nations had ceased to be an effective body to solve the issue. In 1962, Soviet Union voted against the draft resolution for holding plebiscite terming it unrealistic. So, United Nations failed to hold a plebiscite, but the idea of holding a referendum to ascertain the will of people was passed down to a new generation of Kashmiris who were opposed to the union with India.

By 1953, sheikh Abdullah seems to have distanced himself from the Indian dream. Sheikh while earlier terming Pakistan as an aggressor now talked of both India and Pakistan in the same terms. On 13th July 1953, the anniversary of Martyr's day (Abdul Qadir incident, 1931), Abdullah went public saying it was not necessary for the state to be an appendage of either India or Pakistan (Verma, 1994:46). On 8th August Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed from Prime Ministership and put under arrest. Karan singh who signed the letter of dismissal being Sadr-i-Riyasat writes 'from a position of clearly endorsing the accession to India, he had over last few months moved into an entirely different posture'(Singh, 1982:41). Abdullah's downfall was made possible by support from his trusted acolytes G.M.Sadiq and Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad. On 9th August 1953, Bakhshi was sworn in as the Chief Minister.

Bakhshi's reign saw many developments, money was pumped in from Delhi, there was hike in salaries and money was distributed to appease disgruntled Kashmiris. Although Bakhshi and others indulged in corruption, but at the same time a medical college, a regional engineering college came up. Education was also made free from primary to University level. The details of accession to India

were also finalized. In 1954 constituent assembly ratified the accession of the state intended at legitimizing accession made by Hari Singh. On 13th April 1954, customs barrier between Kashmir and the rest of the India was lifted and for the first time President of India, who happened to be Rajendra Prasad visited the state. The constitution of the state was framed in line with the Indian constitution. Both Abdullah and United Nations protested but in vain. In March 1957 elections, Bakhshi was elected as prime Minister while Sheikh was still languishing in jail.

Abdullah was finally released in January 1958; he soon started demanding plebiscite and the right to self determination for the people of the state. He denounced claims of final accession and charged Bakhshi and his government being composed of goondas, opportunists and thieves (Korbel, 1951:319). Sheikh was rearrested again after four months of his release and jailed for another six years on the charges of conspiracy. This invited widespread resentment in Kashmir and Pakistan. Bakhshi's government was turning atrocious day by day, opponents were victimised, freedom of press was curbed and civil liberties were crushed. The elections of 1962 again saw widespread rigging and to all this Indian government remained a mute spectator. It seems though Govt. of India was more interested in land than people. Prem Nath Bazaz comments on the situation 'before long when India wakes up, as it must some day, in the near future, if not today, it may be too late. No liberalization of policy may be able to repair the damages' (Schofield, 2004:97). On 3rd October 1962, Bakhshi resigned owing to some political considerations and Khawaja Shamsuddin replaced him. Various corruption charges and misuse of power were enquired into against Bakhshi and many were proved. But the ten years of rule by Bakhshi had served Indian

interests; the special status with which the state had begun its relationship with India was gradually eroded. Even before his resignation, he abolished titles of Prime Minister and Sadr-i-Riyasat to be called as Chief Minister and Governor from then onwards. The jurisdiction of Supreme Court and the Election Commission was also extended.

The Chinese incursion of 1962 again gave an opportunity to Britain and United States to press India for talks with Pakistan, after some early advances to the final solution, the whole process got eventually derailed. Meanwhile, in December 1963, an extraordinary event took place in the valley. The holy relic (a strand of hair from Prophet's beard), the *Moi-Muqaddas* was stolen from the mosque of Hazratbal Shrine. The whole valley witnessed widespread unrest. The members of Muslim conference and National Conference jointly worked for the cause. Chief Minister Shamsuddin couldn't take any proper initiative. Nehru sent Intelligence Bureau Chief, B.N.Mullick to recover the relic. Finally on 4th January 1964, Mullick was able to track the thieves and the relic was quietly returned to the mosque. In February 1964 a panel of religious men examined the relic and judged it as original. Subsequently Shamsuddin was replaced by G.M.Sadiq as the new Chief Minister. Sadiq government restored the civil rights of the people. On 8th April 1964 Sheikh Abdullah was released from jail. He again went on the offensive, but Indian government maintained that Accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to India was 'full, final and complete' (Schofield, 2004:104). After his release Abdullah met Nehru and convinced him to take an initiative in resolving the pending issue of Kashmir. Nehru agreed and asked him to persuade President Ayub Khan of Pakistan. But before Ayub Khan could meet Nehru after

Abdullah's persuasion, Nehru suddenly passed away. The proposed progress on the issue could never materialize as Indian government was more adamant in strengthening Kashmir's links with India.

In February 1965 Sheikh Abdullah, his wife and Mirza Afzal Beg went to perform Hajj (one of the basic tenets of Islam). He also visited some other Islamic countries as well as Britain and France. During the visit Sheikh also met Chou en-Lai Chinese Prime Minister in Algiers, who invited him to China. This upset the Indian authorities and on his return to India in May 1965, Abdullah was arrested and sent to jail in Tamil Nadu, Afzal Beg was imprisoned in Delhi and Begum Abdullah was also interned in Delhi. The protests in valley were violently crushed (Schofield, 2004:106).

There were certain armed skirmishes between India and Pakistan in 1965 followed by a full scale war. The ceasefire was facilitated by United Nations Security Council and especially Britain and America on 23rd September. The outcome of the war was not a favourable resolution for the Kashmir dispute. In the General Assembly, Indian Foreign Minister declared that Kashmir was an integral part of India and that its future was not negotiable (Korbel, 1951:347). In January 1966, Indian and Pakistani delegations met in Tashkent. Soviet Prime Minister, Alexei Kosygin acted as an unofficial mediator. Ayub and Shastari reaffirmed to solve the dispute through peaceful means, but within hours of their meeting Shastari died of heart attack on 10th January 1966, and with this the issue was again put to cold storage (Schofield, 2004:112).

In 1965, Amanullah Khan, Maqbool Butt and several others formed a party called "Plebiscite Front" to fight against Indian occupation of valley. After setting

up secret cells, Butt clashed with Indian army for the first time at Handwara, in the crossfire an army officer and Butt's aide got killed. Butt was charged with sabotage and murder and sentenced to death in September 1968. But Butt and his associates managed to escape from jail and fled to Azad Kashmir. Saraf writes 'it created a sensation and electrified the people who rejoiced on their brilliant escape' (Saraf, 1977:1378). Meanwhile, Sheikh Abdullah on his release from jail in 1968 began to stress for freedom and self determination again.

In 1971, a third war broke out between India and Pakistan, which led to the creation of Bangladesh. At the end of June 1972, the leaders of the two countries signed Shimla Agreement. The agreement was mainly aimed at restoring peace between two countries. The issue of Kashmir remained inconclusive, but ceasefire line came to be known as Line of Control (LOC). Some commentators are of the opinion that adopting the name LOC was a de facto recognition that it was an international border. Farooq Abdullah during his visit to Pakistan in 1974 concluded that Kashmir issue was resolved. It was finalized between two leaders at Shimla that what is India's is India's and what is Pakistan's is Pakistan's and eventually LOC will become a border (Schofield, 2004:120).

After Sadiq's death in 1971, Syed Mir Qasim assumed the Chief Ministership. To make things clear for Qasim's victory in elections, Plebiscite Front was banned and Abdullah was externed from the state. In March Mir Qasim won elections with a comfortable majority. In April 1972 Begum Abdullah was allowed to return to the state, political prisoners were released and externment order on Sheikh Abdullah, Mirza Afzal Beg and G.M.Shah was lifted. Meanwhile, Abdullah toned down his stance and began demanding only greater autonomy. In

1975 Sheikh Abdullah reached an agreement with Prime Minister of India Indira Gandhi which came to be known as “Kashmir Accord”. Kashmir’s special status enshrined in article 370 was retained. Indian government was able to make laws relating to the prevention of activities directed towards disclaiming, questioning or disputing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India or bringing about cession of a part of the territory of India from Union or causing insult to the National Flag, the Indian National Anthem or Constitution (Verma, 1994:58). Titles of Sadr-i-Riyasat and Prime Minister were abrogated. Thus movement for self determination virtually came to an end. Sheikh Abdullah finally got the chair of Chief Minister under the auspices of Congress Party. Back in power Sheikh tried to revive National Conference which had remained dormant for so many years. In the elections that followed, Sheikh’s National Conference won 47 out of 75 seats even after Sheikh couldn’t campaign because of massive heart attack. Assuming power once again, Sheikh began to speak assertively even threatening to secede from the Indian union at times. But things had changed by this time; there was a growing discontent among the cross section of society against Kashmir Accord. Abdullah’s popularity had faded and his government was criticized for discrimination and lack of performance (Schofield, 2004:125-126). The period also saw the Islamic resurgence in Kashmir following inspiration from Iranian revolution of 1979 and Afghan resistance to Soviet Union.

As Sheikh’s health began to fail, he appointed his son on 21st August 1981 as the new President of National Conference. He was a young energetic man dressed in western values but a novice in administration and politics. At this time state was booming with economic progress and there was happiness all around. On

8th September, 1982 the towering figure of Kashmir politics, the Lion of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah passed away. On his funeral there was grief all around, people wept, chanted dirges and mouthed melancholy slogans and the whole of Kashmir forgetting disappointments and dissatisfactions remembered their leader.

Farooq Abdullah got fame as the 'disco' Chief Minister. He dealt firmly with the corruption and the corrupt officials. In June 1983 elections Indira Gandhi approached Farooq Abdullah for an alliance, but he refused and instead made an agreement with Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq thus infuriating Indira. Farooq Abdullah emerged victorious, Congress termed elections rigged and Indira Gandhi even tried to subvert elected government of Kashmir (Singh, 1996:40). The relations between Abdullah and Indira Gandhi further embittered when Abdullah raised the issue of regional autonomy along with other leaders of certain states. A three day opposition conclave involving 59 leaders from 17 different parties was held in Srinagar. M.J.Akbar says that Mrs. Gandhi was deeply enraged and she arranged for destabilizing government in certain states. This was a blot on the Indian federation and Abdullah was on the top of the hit list (Akbar, 1991:207). Finally Mrs. Gandhi succeeded in toppling Farooq government with the support of G.M.Shah, who led away a breakaway faction of 13 members of Legislative Assembly. Farooq later pointed out his dismissal was a conspiracy in which Jagmohan (Governor of the State) was a direct party (Abdullah, 1985:11). Thus for personal reasons Prime Minister of India set aside the Abdullah and proved the disregard she and the Govt. of India had for Kashmir's so called special status. G.M.Shah was appointed as new Chief Minister, but his government was

unpopular at the outset. There was large scale corruption and embezzlement of funds. Indira Gandhi was assassinated in October 1984, but the blot of her drawing room dismissal of Farooq government remained. G.M.Shah government was dismissed on 7th March 1986 following severe communal riots and Jagmohan assumed exclusive power and control of the state. In November Farooq was reappointed as Chief Minister by Rajiv Gandhi under Congress-National Conference alliance. For bowing to Delhi, Farooq was overnight transformed from a hero to a traitor in the Kashmiri mind. Even Farooq later admitted the 1986 accord as a big political blunder (Schofield, 2004:136).

In the elections of 1987 Muslim United Front (MUF) in which Jamaat-i-Islami was a key component appeared as a big threat to Farooq's position. Before elections a number of MUF leaders and election agents were arrested. The results eventually came in favour of Conference- Congress alliance claiming 66 seats while MUF could get only 4 seats. There were charges of rigging. Tavleen Singh writes 'the rigging was blatant' even Police was used to crush the opponents (Singh, 1996:102). This sowed the seeds of discontentment as it is from here the insurgency took its birth.

The first violent act took place in May 1987 when motorcade of Farooq Abdullah was attacked (Singh, 1996:108). Throughout 1988 there were series of disturbances which disrupted daily life in the valley. There were demonstrations for rise in cost of electricity although supply remained erratic, two bomb blasts, and attack on Director General of Police, JKLF cadre Ajaz Dar got killed in firing and was claimed as first martyr. There was surge in pro Pakistani feelings. On 27 October 1988, the day Indian Army had landed in the state; there was a complete

strike on what protestors termed as “Occupation Day”. There were accusations from the Indian side that Pakistan was fomenting trouble and nurturing an indigenous insurgency in the valley.

3.4 The Beginning of Violence.

Year 1989 marks the real beginning of insurgency in the state. The acts of sabotage increased in frequency and intensity. Police and security forces reacted violently often targeting innocent civilians. Every Kashmiri youth came to be regarded as a potential militant. There were widespread human rights abuses. Stories of torture, rape and indiscriminate killings came to pour in (Schofield, 2004:143). On the Republic day of India 26th January 1989 a strike was called for. It was the first of many strikes in 1989, which took up one third of year’s working days (Trembley, 1995:81). Maqbool Butt’s 5th anniversary on 11 February, demonstrations against Salman Rushdie’s ‘Satanic Verses’ were some other occasions for the closures. There was Hindu-Muslim violence in Rajouri, Hindu-Sikh violence in Jammu and Muslim-Budh violence in Ladakh. Bandhs, hartals, attacks on government offices, bridges, buses, murders of informers and anti movement people became order of the day and paralyzed the government machinery. There was violence written on every nook and corner of the valley. On Sheikh Abdullah’s anniversary, his effigies were burnt, some prominent pandits were murdered a few weeks later. There was black out on 14th November Nehru’s birthday and on 5th December, Sheikh Abdullah’s birthday. Farooq Abdullah’s response to insurgency was according to Balraj Puri ‘a sense of bravado rather than maturity’ (Puri, 1993: 56).

By the end of 1989 a number of militant groups were active in valley. Jagmohan listed 44 such groups to be operative at the time in valley having objectives either of independence or merger with Pakistan (Jagmohan, 1991:751-52). JKLF appeared to be the most prominent organization at the time with the objective of Independent Kashmir. Unlike the earlier times the young fighters appeared to be well educated who had become alienated by Indian government policies and unemployment. Their grievances were as much economic as political. On 8th December, 1989 Rubiya Sayeed daughter of Indian Home Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed was kidnapped. Her release was procured only after release of certain hardcore militants as demanded by kidnappers. After this episode New Delhi adopted a tough policy and Jagmohan was again sent to replace General Krishna Rao as the Governor of the state.

After Jagmohan's return Farooq Abdullah resigned, he had no sympathy for militants and had no thought of an independent state like his father. According to Tavleen Singh Jagmohan's appointment was the worst mistake on the part of central government (Singh, 1996:131). Jagmohan adopted a policy of repression and his weight felt on the side of extremist BJP (Bhartiya Janata Party), who wanted article 370 to be abrogated. Following a search operation in which around 300 people were arrested ordered by Jagmohan, next day there were massive protests in Srinagar. In response to protests at Gawkadal bridge a down town locality of Srinagar paramilitary troops opened fire on unarmed protestors from both sides of the bridge leading to one of the worst massacres of innocent people in the history of Kashmir. Over 100 people died some from gunshots and some got drowned while jumping from the bridge into the river Jhelum to save their lives.

The whole valley was terrorized, there were widespread protests and demonstrations with slogans like 'we want freedom' and 'Indian dogs go back' reverberating everywhere. Foreign press was banned and curfew was imposed indefinitely in several towns. The incident heralded a new phase of struggle, where the whole population of the valley got mobilized in support of insurgency (Puri, 1993:60). The whole valley was filled with optimism that the freedom was just inevitable. People from all walks of life civil servants, doctors, engineers, teachers, farmers, students and even women came out on streets in protest. On 19th February, 1990 Jagmohan dissolved the Legislative Assembly. He garrisoned the whole valley with paramilitary and military forces, turning the state into a war zone. At the end of February around 4 lakh Kashmiris marched to the offices of UNMOGIP to hand petitions demanding the implementation of UN resolutions (Schofield, 2004:150). On 1st March again 40 people were killed in police firing. There was shortage of food supplies, medicines, and essential commodities. Farooq Abdullah accused governor Jagmohan of unleashing a reign of terror.

In March there was a large scale exodus of Pandits from the valley, who took refuge in the camps outside Jammu. Some affluent families moved to Delhi. There is a widespread popular belief that the exodus of Pandits was the handiwork of Jagmohan, who wanted to go all out in his repressive policies against Muslims. The Kashmiri Pandits were also subjected to human rights violations and curtailment of civil liberties. They had to leave their houses, properties and hearths and lived in the harsh and inhospitable climate of Northern plains. On 21st May 1990, the chief preacher of the Srinagar Jama Musjid, Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq was shot dead at his home by unidentified gunmen. The militants blamed government

agencies and government blamed it the handiwork of militants. The worst episode that followed was the firing by CRPF troopers on the funeral procession of the slain Mirwaiz which led to the killing of about 100 people. Soon after the incident, Jagmohan was replaced by Girish Chandra Saxena as the new governor of the state. Ashok Jaitley a prominent civil servant commented 'what Jagmohan did in five months, they (militants) could not have achieved in five years' (Desmond, 1995:6).

Girish Chandra Saxena although soft was equally committed to crush the militancy by force. The human rights violations of the Kashmiris like torture, frequent searching, frisking, beating, killings became order of the day. An Asia watch report states 'government forces have systematically violated international human rights law by use of lethal force against peaceful demonstrators' (Asia Watch, May 1991:5). In July 1990, the Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Ordinance was enacted, giving men in uniform extra powers to shoot, kill, search and arrest at will, that too with impunity from any prosecution. What followed after is the saga of violence, terror and humiliation. The troops resorted to arson, killing, burning, molestation and rape at mere provocation. In February 1991, about 53 women were reported to be gang raped in Kunan Poshpora, while men were kept outside in freezing cold or locked in houses and interrogated (Schofield, 2004:156-57). There were several other incidents of similar nature elsewhere in valley.

Meanwhile, counter insurgency operations were intensified in valley. Those militants who could not withstand torture were used as 'CATs' (Concealed Apprehension Tactics) to identify fellow militants. Some times for the fear of

torture they would identify innocent people who in turn had to suffer at the hands of interrogators. In certain cases victims were left half dead or dead and dubbed as disappeared, whose whereabouts could never be located. Various operations under different names were launched in 1992 and the policy of 'catch and kill' was adopted. On 6th January 1993, in a gruesome incident 43 people were killed and the central market of the Sopore town was gutted down. It has been considered as the largest reprisal attack by security forces during the insurgency. Asia Watch reports witnesses saw BSF (Border Security Force) soldiers pour gasoline on the rags, set them alight and toss them up on the houses and shops. Also fire fighters were prevented by BSF men to put out the blaze (Asia Watch, June 1993:45). From February to March 1990 two eminent doctors Dr. Farooq Ashai and Dr. Abdul Ahad Guru were eliminated. Although government put the blame on the militants, but both the doctors being supporters and sympathizers of militants were eliminated by security forces as was later proved (Schofield, 2004:158-59). Thus the saga of violence, repression and retaliation continued unabashed.

In February 1993, over 30 political parties formed an umbrella organization called All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC). Omar Farooq, the son of Maulvi Farooq was elected as its chairman. The leading political figures in the amalgam included Syed Ali Shah Geelani of Jamaat-i-Islami, Abdul Gani Lone of People's Conference, Maulvi Abbas Ansari of Liberation Council, and Professor Abdul Gani Bhat of the Muslim Conference. Their unified objective was that the people should be given the right to choose. Omar also suggested the tripartite talks to be the viable solution for the dispute. By 1993, the movement had died down a bit,

there were no more large scale demonstrations, and people began to think of return to normalcy.

In March 1993, after his 3 years stint as Governor of Jammu and Kashmir Girish Saxena was replaced by Retired General Krishna Rao as the new governor. Some international jurists were allowed to visit the valley, but Amnesty International observers were still not allowed in to the valley. In October 1993, the Hazratbal Shrine became the center stage of international attention. The Indian forces cordoned off the Shrine when around 100 militants were held up. The standoff ended after about a month, both sides exercised restraint and not even a single bullet was fired. But the Indian restraint got a back lashing when a demonstration in Bijbehara town of Anantnag protesting against the siege of Hazratbal were fired upon by BSF troopers leading to the death of 37 unarmed demonstrators. 'Even magisterial inquiry concluded firing was unprovoked' (Amnesty International, 31 January 1995:7). Pakistan raised the issue of Kashmir in United Nations Commission for Human Rights in Geneva again in February 1994. Indian government responded with a policy of initiating dialogue with the estranged Kashmiris in order to hold the elections. The first jolt to Indian policy came with the assassination of Wali Mohammad Yatoo a frontline National Conference leader in March 1994 by militants. Government went ahead with the plan and released several detainees and political figures like Shabir Shah, Syed Ali Geelani and Abdul Gani Lone. But given the hostility of militants to the election process a condition emerged, who will contest and who will vote for the elections. The popular leaders of APHC (All Parties Hurriyat Conference) were also apprehensive of New Delhi's policy and decided not to participate. Even Farooq

Abdullah placed stringent conditions on his participation. He demanded autonomy as it existed before 1953 and substantial economic package (Schofield, 2004:166-67). So, for the time being political process couldn't materialize.

The ever large presence of army and their operational tactics resulted in large scale human rights violations. Amnesty International reports, 'the brutality of torture in Jammu and Kashmir defies belief. It has left people mutilated and disabled for life. The severity of the torture meted out by the Indian security forces in Jammu and Kashmir is the main reason for the appalling number of deaths in custody' (Amnesty International, 31 January 1995:2). Amnesty further reported that around 705 people died in custody since 1990, which was not accepted by Indian government. Amnesty termed government's response as misleading.

Militants also have been responsible for certain excesses like intimidation and extortion and their attacks on suspected sympathizers of government. They even demanded money and sons from the local people to sustain their existence. In June 1994, JKLF admitted that militants had committed atrocities and alienated people and stated that strict action would be taken against 'erring elements' in the movement (Amnesty International, January 1994:59). Militants also forced women to wear Burqa at the start of insurgency. There were allegations of corruption and drug dealing against militants. The government funds for development were distributed between militants and corrupt government officials. But still militants enjoyed the popular support widely (Schofield, 2004:173-74). By 1993, JKLF lost its ascendancy to Hizb-ul-Mujahidin. There were intergroup clashes between militants which reduced their efficacy. There was even change in stances of JKLF leadership, while Yasin Malik after his release from jail in 1994 favored non-

violence, but Amanullah Khan still was in favour of armed struggle. There were similar ups and downs in other militant groups too, but Omar Farooq believed that India's repressive tactics and counter insurgency measures still remained a factor in uniting the people against India (Schofield, 2004:175). The things took a new turn when foreign mercenaries began to pour in. Yasin Malik opposed any type of foreign presence in Kashmir. The foreign presence got highlighted in March 1995 when 'Mast Gul' along with several other mercenaries occupied the Shrine of the revered Kashmiri saint Hazrat Noor-ud-Din wali at Charar-e-Sharief. Like the Hazratbal episode Indian forces cordoned off the whole area. But this time the Shrine got destroyed in the blaze along with the several houses in the locality. Militants blamed security forces for the incident and security forces in turn put the blame on militants. But, the thing that startled everyone was Mast Gul's safe escape.

The brunt of violence had to be beared by the Kashmiris. There was no developmental work; the valley was gripped in fear. Almost every Kashmiri was affected one way or the other way by the cruel monster of violence. It affected the standard of education from below up to higher education. The condition of health services became wretched. The snapped roads and burnt bridges cutoff various areas from city centers leading to misery and hardships in these areas. People began to regret the insurgency, because it had ruined the lives of so many people without bringing about any political change. By 1996, the euphoric spirits and vehement noises of earlier days had died down. The people had become war weary, but despite this people wanted Azadi (Independence) although they wanted a return to normalcy. Meanwhile, government was also able to win over some

disgruntled militants, who were employed in counter insurgency operations mostly led by Kukka Parray. They proved effective to break the back of militancy, targeting mostly Hizb-ul-Mujahidin cadres. They even targeted the family members of Hizb militants and did not even spare the local populace. They unleashed a reign of terror and were involved in arson, intimidation and cold blooded murders of several hundred innocent Kashmiris.

The tourism sector, the main economy of the state was thrown into tatters. Tourist flow declined from 80000 in 1989 to 9000 in 1995. There were isolated incidents of kidnapping of foreign nationals and even the rape of a Canadian girl in October 1990 by two Indian army officers which acted as a deterrent towards tourist inflow (Schofield, 2004:186). But the biggest hurdle was the militarization of the state and the constant fighting between militants and government forces. The hopes of tourism industry were further raised to the ground with the kidnapping of six foreign nationals in July 1995 in Pahalgam by a little known group called Al-Faran. The incident was condemned by several organizations like APHC and JKLF, but sadly their release could never be materialized owing to the tough stance of Indian government towards militant demands.

Kashmiris tried hard to garner international support for their what they believed 'just cause'. But they were always disappointed in their efforts. They began to doubt west having double standards, which on the one side talked of democracy and on the other side let go the repression and exploitation of Kashmiris day in and day out. In 1996 Indian government renewed its efforts to hold elections in the state. During this time a prominent human rights lawyer Jalil Andrabi was shot dead by Indian security forces on 27th March, 1996. Although

Indian government denied the allegation, his death (was) condemned by international commentators and human rights groups (Bose, 1997:177). The elections of six Lok Sabha seats were held under heavy security. APHC and National Conference didn't participate. The militants gave threats against election officials and voters. However, international press suggested that there were numerous incidents where voters were forced to vote at gunpoint (The Times, 24 May 1996). Following Union Front Coalition government at Delhi, the Legislative Assembly elections were held in the state, APHC again refused to participate. This led to the re-election of Farooq Abdullah as the Chief Minister of the state, although the turn out in the elections was low. Pakistan condemned elections as 'sham'.

In February 1997 Nawaz Sharief got reelected as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. With Sharief assuming office, a new chapter of talks opened between India and Pakistan on a number of issues including Kashmir. A series of talks were held between I.K.Gujral, the Indian Prime Minister and Sharief, followed by other round of talks at official level, but nothing could be achieved (Schofield, 2004:195). Meanwhile, on 26th January 1998 Indian Republic Day was being observed as 'black day' by the Kashmiri Diaspora across the world. The demand was made for UN referendum. At the end of 1998, Human Rights Watch reported that both India and Pakistan were to be blamed for the human rights violations and that repression and abuse had kept the conflict alive in Kashmir. About 300 civilians were targeted by militants between 1997 and mid 1999. Indian army and security forces were accused of brutal tactics, including summary executions, disappearances, torture and rape (as adopted in Schofield 2004: 198).

The brutal blow to militancy came from renegades, the pro-government militants, who operated in mid 1990's. The most notorious counter insurgent group was Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon headed by Kukka Parray. Hizb cadres were almost wiped out in many areas by them. The other counter insurgent groups were Muslim Mujahidin, Kashmir Liberation Army, and Al-Ikhwan to name a few. They resorted to blatant human rights abuses and appeared to be counterproductive. The extortion, killing, torture and humiliation of common man appeared to be their daily schedule. At last they were incorporated into the CRPF, BSF and Army. Some were even appointed as Special Police Officers (SPOs). Some rehabilitated renegades were still involved in 'freelance' criminal activities reports Amnesty (as adopted in Schofield, 2004:200). The end of 1990's saw various political groups constituting Hurriyat softening their stands and dissociating themselves from the militancy. The Farooq government had neither achieved the objective of 'greater autonomy' nor had it received any substantial 'economic package'. There were various corruption and authoritarian charges against the government.

After coming in power at the center in 1998, BJP came up with tough policies. The first daring act of BJP was bringing nuclear program back into public awareness. On 11th and 14th May, without warning, Indian government conducted five underground nuclear tests at Pokhran. Pakistan responded with similar six nuclear tests on 28th and 30th May in Chagai area of Baluchistan. Both countries were slapped with sanctions and rebuke from international community. The sanctions were later relaxed only after both countries agreed to a moratorium on nuclear testing and a commitment to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

(Schofield, 2004:205-06). Both countries resumed talks to deal with the pending issues following their changed nuclear status. On February 20, 1999 Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the Indian Prime Minister made a historic visit to Pakistan on the inaugural run of Delhi-Lahore bus service. The two sides signed the document which came to be known as "Lahore Declaration". The two sides agreed to resolve the pending issues including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. They further agreed not to interfere or intervene in each other's internal affairs (Lahore Declaration, 21 Feb 1999).

The hopes of the Lahore declaration died soon, just after three months of the declaration, the two countries were on the brink of war in Kargil. The militants had occupied 130 posts previously held by India. Around 600 militants fought a month long battle with Indian forces (Air and Ground). India held Pakistan responsible for the incursion, while as, Pakistan denied the charges stating militants were indigenous 'freedom fighters' fighting for the liberation of Kashmir. Amidst diplomatic initiatives to end the war, there was also the threat of nuclear escalation. In valley security forces went berserk, sometimes burning houses and subjecting people to gross atrocities. APHC and other pro freedom groups tried to organize rallies, but they were put to arrest. The situation took an ugly turn when it was learnt that India is building its force near the Punjab border. American analysts deduced that India was preparing to invade Pakistan across the border (Schofield, 2004:209-214). However, weekly train continued to ply between Lahore and Delhi. The tension defused following an emergency meeting between Nawaz Sharief and US President Bill Clinton, following which Nawaz Sharief requested militants to withdraw. Sharief justified withdrawal with a note

that objective of the militants to highlight the Kashmir issue in the international community has been achieved. The move was discredited by Kashmiri activists and militants. Even Pakistani politicians criticized Sharief for complete diplomatic surrender. In India withdrawal was hailed as victory. The withdrawal also saw the rise of militant activity in the state. There were widespread protests in Pakistan against the Sharief government. The militant groups vowed to keep fighting for Kashmir, with the threat that they would carry out suicide attacks (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/southasia>, 25 July 1999).

Following Kargil war, there was an increase in militant activity in valley. The new militant group Lashkar-e-Toiba rose to prominence with the tactics of using Fidayeen or suicide attacks. The first major strike was October 1999 attack on heavily guarded 15 corps at Badami Bagh cantonment in Srinagar, which left 8 army personnel dead including the PRO Major Purshottam. Since then, more than 70 such attacks have been carried out claiming lives of scores of security personnel. In the Lok Sabha elections of September 1999, APHC again gave a boycott call, which turned out to be successful with the exception of Kargil voters. In response government arrested the APHC leaders. On 12th October 1999, things took a new turn when General Pervez Musharraf staged a bloodless military coup ousting Prime Minister Nawaz Sharief in Pakistan. All elected officials were dismissed and constitution was put into abeyance. Without declaring martial law, Musharraf assumed the position of Chief Executive. Later he also assumed the office of the President of Pakistan, which gave him the prospect of being in office beyond three years.

3.5 New Century, New diplomacies and Uncertain Future

The new century saw no possible immediate solution of the Kashmir conflict. Pakistan on the one hand supported the Kashmir cause morally and politically and depended on the support of international community; India on the other hand still attempted to normalize the things in the valley and at the same time accused Pakistan of 'cross border terrorism'. In view of India's strong opposition to third party mediation, international community has failed to play any proactive role in settling the dispute. The Kashmir issue again got the international attention when an Indian Airlines plane IC-814 from Kathmandu to New Delhi was hijacked on 24th December 1999. A group called Islamic Salvation Front claimed the responsibility. The plane finally landed at the Kabul airport and during the arbitration with Indian government, the hijackers secured the release of Maulana Masood Azhar, a core member of Harkat-ul-Ansar (now Harkat-ul-Mujahidin), Mushtaq Ahmad zargar (Latram), the founder of Al-Umer Mujahidin and Sheikh Umer Saeed (a British). After sometime, Azhar and Saeed resurfaced in Pakistan where they held public rallies openly. This further soared the relations between India and Pakistan. Pakistan's involvement was suspected in the incident and India demanded Pakistan be placed in the US state department's list of countries sponsoring terrorism, but US refused (Schofield, 2004:226).

General Musharraf after assuming office took an appeasing attitude towards India. He maintained Kashmir to be the core issue between the two countries and supported the Kashmiri movement for 'self determination'. He still believed in adopting UN resolutions as the acceptable way to solve the dispute. He also made himself available for dialogue anywhere any time. In March 2000, yet

another violent episode took place. Following President Clinton's visit to India, on the evening of 20th March, the gruesome massacre of Chattisinghpora in Anantnag took place in which 35 Sikhs were killed. Indian officials straightly blamed Lashkar-i-Toiba and Hizb-ul-Mujahidin for the attack, stating that their motive was to internationalize the Kashmir dispute following Clinton's visit. But a probe by three human rights activists put the finger on renegades, the pro government fighters. It was also noted that a unit of Rashtriya Rifles stationed close by did nothing to help the villagers (Schofield, 2004:228). While addressing Indian parliament Clinton disappointed Kashmiri activists by not referring to Kashmir in address or vision statement. And in Pakistan he took a U turn to his earlier stand when he announced US could not mediate or resolve the issue, only Pakistan and India can do that through dialogue (Schofield, 2004:228-29). Back in Kashmir, after the Sikh massacre a joint unit of Army and Special Operations Group (SOG) of Police killed five men in Pathribal village of Anantnag, claiming their involvement in the massacre of Chattisinghpora. The local people didn't buy the official story and there were strong protests. Later DNA sampling reports of the exhumed bodies established that the slain were innocent civilians to have been killed in a fake encounter by the men in uniform for mere promotions in their ranks. Meanwhile, Farooq Abdullah again began to demand greater autonomy for the state (pre 1953 position) and New Delhi's authority to be restricted to defence, foreign policy and communications. He was met with stiff resistance not only in New Delhi but in state assembly also by BJP members. New Delhi accepted the demand for greater autonomy but not the pre 1953 position, which it said would weaken the national integrity (Schofield, 2004:230).

Throughout year 2000 militancy related incidents showed an escalation, although there was a brief ceasefire on the part of Hizb-ul-Mujahidin. During this time US State Department's human rights report on India suggested 'extrajudicial killings by government forces, which included deaths in custody and fake encounter killings continued to occur frequently (US State Department Report, 2000). The Indian government continued to use counter insurgents allegedly to perpetrate 'extra judicial' killings of the militants, but their utility was diminishing. At the same time security forces still possessed the Special powers (DAA and AFSPA) to act with impunity.

Another ray of hope alighted on the subcontinent with the Agra Summit when President Pervez Musharraf visited India in mid July 2001. The talks were held between two countries, after few initial advances there emerged lack of consensus between the two countries on certain issues. Although it can be said that the talks failed, but in the end it was a positive sign towards establishment of peace in the region.

September 11, 2001 attack on twin towers of WTO saw US going all out on the war against terror. With the establishment of link of the attack to Osama Bin Laden, an Arab based in Afghanistan supported by Taliban which in turn was supported by Pakistan, the Pakistani government found itself in spotlight once more. In the war against terror, Pakistan became a key ally of US. This made it mandatory for the Musharraf regime to denounce every act of terror. On 1st October 2001, a suicide bomber attack rocked Srinagar Legislative Assembly killing 38 people. Musharraf condemned the attack as 'act of terror'. Again on December 13, 2001 a suicide attack was made on the Indian Parliament in which

14 people were killed. The immediate reaction was the closure of borders and the suspension of Delhi-Lahore bus service by the Vajpayee government. The blame was put on Lashkar-i-Toiba and Jaish-e- Mohammad, which were later banned by US. Following the Parliament attack, the security was tightened up in valley. The common Kashmiri was again at the receiving end, all STD outgoing calls and the internet facilities were immediately cutoff. There appeared mixed voices from Kashmir, some lamented on insurgency and longed for peace and still others wanted to go on for the sake of thousands of lives and the sacrifices being made for the cause (Schofield, 2004:237). At the same time after 13 years of insurgency, women were described as 'invisible' losers. An estimated 5000 were widows and an equal number, possibly more were women whose husbands disappeared, leaving them as bread winners, neither free to grieve nor remarry; over 5000 children were orphans. Levels of domestic violence had risen also but when nation is at stake, violence at home seems unimportant (Times of India, 7 April 2002). Although the situation had improved a lot but the fear of abrupt disruption always remained there. The new tactics of suicide attacks adopted by the militants gave a gripping chill down the spine of the security apparatus. It was not easy for anyone to face a fighter for whom life meant nothing but a transition. With death as the ultimate victory and the high degree of altruism suicide attackers acted at ease.

APHC was now also getting active. They began to get exposed to the international media. But in an attempt to rethink its election strategy prior to September 2002 elections, the amalgam witnessed a split between those who wanted to contest elections for stopping Farooq Abdullah from holding office and those who refused to contest, because it meant recognizing state's allegiance to

Indian Union. On 21st May 2002, Abdul Gani Lone one of amalgam's stalwarts was assassinated by unidentified gunmen (perhaps by militants owing to his softened stand towards India). His son Bilal Lone was immediately inducted on to the APHC executive council as President of People's Conference.

The year 2003 again saw heightened tensions between India and Pakistan. The Pakistani government was facing the wrath of extremists who were displeased with the Pakistan being the US ally on the war against terror and wiping Afghanistan. There were numerous car bomb explosions. In India BJP was losing its credibility and the 'Gujarat Pogrom' organized by BJP saw heightened domestic tensions. The Indian government deflected tension by condemning Pakistan for cross border terrorism. The armies were put on standby, and the tension of looming war gripped the whole region. There were inflammatory speeches made on both sides day in and day out. The use of nuclear weapons posed the biggest threat, although both countries later justified their no use policy. In the end US pressure evidently contributed to put an end to the feud. But the underlying grievances between India, Pakistan and the Kashmiri people remained unresolved.

It has been estimated between 1989 and 2002 between 40,000 (official Indian estimates) and 80,000 (APHC claims) civilians, guerilla fighters and Indian security personnel died in violence that gradually spread beyond the Kashmir valley to affect most of the Jammu also (Bose, 2005:4). Year 2002 saw change of guard in the state power when for the first time Congress-PDP led coalition government assumed power in the state. The alliance decided to share power on rotation basis with Mufti Mohammad Sayeed of PDP sworn in as Chief Minister

of the state on 2nd November 2002. Mufti started as a Chief Minister with clean image and within months of assuming power various government departments like excise, sales tax, forest, rural development, transport, food and supplies were brought under the vigilance organization. The PDP-led government also promulgated an ordinance where by 89 shrines of the valley came under government control and Muslim Auqaf Trust headed by former Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah was dismantled. The move was explained by saying that it was necessary to stop swindling of funds collected as donations. Farooq Abdullah's favorite Royal Springs Golf Course, which had become his private playground, was put to good use (called Golf Diplomacy), for envoys from several countries were invited to play there for the Ambassador's Golf Cup. The other initiatives of Mufti government included 179 crore project for restoration of Wullar Lake, a plan to set National fruit market at Sopore, for the first time cell phone service was launched in the state, National Literacy Mission and the state administration jointly started adult education program and even the new Chief Minister led a seven member team to London to attend the World Tourism Mart and promoted his state as an ideal tourist destination (Quraishi, 2004:190). Mufti took some positive steps for giving respite to people by first of all disbanding the dreaded Special Operations Group (SOG) of police, although they continued to operate for a while, and silenced the atrocious renegades. For the first time a bus service was initiated between Srinagar and Muzzafarabad amidst huge media fanfare. However, the policy of road widening which led to the flattening of several valley markets did evoke a bitter public outrage against the government. At the same time the grave problem of unemployment, daily humiliation and frisking and the

monster of violence continued to haunt the people from which there appeared to be no respite although condition improved a bit. The Mufti Government got in a row in 2004 after the infamous Sex Scandal involving teenage girls came to surface involving top brass bureaucracy and even the elected ministers of the government. The incident resulted in widespread protests and resentment in valley for the things quite unheard of in Kashmiri society. The girls were exploited for the mere promises of jobs and money. After initial actions against the erring men, the case was hushed up. Later it has been confirmed that the case of sexploitation of young Kashmiri girls had earlier come to light in year 2000 in district Anantnag, but for the tremendous pressure from authorities the Police couldn't file the case in court (Greater Kashmir, November 1 2007). The Mufti government completed its turn of 3 years in November 2005 and Ghulam Nabi Azad took charge as the new Chief Minister in the coalition government (PDP-Congress Alliance) for next 3 years. Azad mainly focused on work-culture and took keen interest in completing the pending works. The double shift system was introduced for speedy completion of the projects. The state seemed to be on the path to progress, the employment opportunities were generated and that gave a bit respite. The things began to get normalized barring some untoward incidents now and then. The Congress policy seemed to have worked and Azad was among the able politicians to gain Congress hold on Kashmir. The Azad tenure saw visit of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, who not only promised economic package but also called for maximum restraint on the part of security forces. But the ground reality seemed quite different, barely two days after Prime Minister's visit, the security men gunned down a retarded youth in the down town locality of Srinagar

attracting widespread protests. But, nonetheless things seemed to go on a smooth path and condition seemed to improve a lot. The tourist industry started to boom and there was large inflow of tourists. Some analysts termed the condition to be normal with minor aberrations witnessed now and then, which can be corrected. But the bubble burst on June 21, 2008, when whole valley got in a boil over the land transfer row (800 Kanal forest land) to Shri Amaranth Shrine Board (SASB). There were massive protests in every nook and corner of the valley. The situation was first termed as communal, but the APHC leadership taking charge of the unrest termed it as totally non communal. The Yatris (Pilgrims) visiting the Amarnath cave during the time were given a sound hospitality throughout the unrest which saw whole valley united for a single cause. The green flags were hoisted on historic Ghanta Ghar (clock tower) in the heart of Srinagar, the summer capital. There was frequent chanting of pro freedom slogans, the protesters demanded restoration of the land as it amounted to violation of the Article 370 guaranteeing the special status to the state. The government was also blamed for making attempts to change demography of the state through such acts by APHC leadership. Even APHC was quite bewildered to see the mass support they were receiving and they had to take the charge of affairs, they perhaps were not prepared for. The PDP withdrew its support to the elected government in a face saving exercise. Even the senior politician like Muzzafar Hussain Beg of PDP couldn't maintain his calm and stances; he changed his statements thrice in a single day. The PDP and Congress got involved in a blame game to target each other for the land transfer issue. The Police and CRPF used brute force killing 6 people in week long protests and injuring 1000 people at the same time. Many

media agencies pressed the panic button and Kashmir was again put on the radar of national media, the situation was termed to be worse than the 1990's when the insurgency started in valley with full mass support. The land transfer order was finally rescinded but with a cost of innocent lives and precious blood. On 7th July 2008 Azad government could not prove its majority in the house and state was once again put under the Governor's rule for the 4th time since 1977. It appeared that situation was heading towards the normalcy again, but the Jammu agitation gathered up the steam with Hindutva forces gathering up in the temple town of Jammu and began to demand for transfer of land back to SASB and rescinding the previous government order where the land was restored back to the state. With full support from BJP, VHP and Bajrang Dal the protests were organized in the Jammu region. On 21st July the mainstream politician Mehbooba Mufti accused L.K. Advani of BJP of fuelling religious polarization in the state for electoral gains after his criticism of cancellation of land transfer to SASB. The situation took an ugly communal turn when the Muslim community in the region was targeted, though curfew was imposed in the city, but it was defied openly by agitators. Some valley people were targeted and Shri Amarnath Sangharash Samiti took the charge of affairs. The Jammu was put under curfew as Samiti members and Police clashed on streets. On 26th July, a fresh spate of violence engulfed Jammu in which 40 people were injured including 10 policemen, the protestors even lobbed petrol bombs on the Police demanding restoration of land back to SASB, clashes continued on 27th July with 50 injured as Police had to fire rubber bullets to disperse the agitators. Meanwhile, news began to pour in the valley that some people of valley were targeted by Samiti members being ruthlessly beaten and

some burned or sprinkled with acid. The valley too began to simmer again. On 28th July 2008, Sangharash Samiti announced the decision to strangle the valley economically, therefore, the Samiti blocked all the food and essential medical supplies to the state. The irony is that the whole Indian democracy was taken to ransom by a handful of communal agitators and the government of India did not take any serious note of the development. The repercussions had to be faced by the people of Kashmir and fruit growers in particular whose fruit couldn't be ferried to the markets in the India owing to blockade of the National Highway connecting valley to the rest of India by the Jammu agitators. The valley observed complete shutdown on 4th August on a call given by Coordination Committee of the Hurriyat against the economic blockade in which one person was killed by police firing and 22 injured. The governor N.N.Vohra tried to break the ice with Sangharash Samiti, but the first phase of talks failed on government's insistence to call off the agitation. Jammu saw yet another episode of lawlessness and hooliganism when the valley leaders Mehbooba Mufti (PDP) and Farooq Abdullah (NC) had to face the embarrassment at the Jammu airport, being stranded for whole three hours after Samiti agitators closed every exit of the airport and blocked every road. The army had to be called in Jammu because of increased lawlessness, but the highway remained closed for Kashmiris being targeted by Samiti members, certain commentators accused government of giving free hand to fanatics, the JKLF chairman Yasin Malik went on a fast unto death in protest against the discrimination and economic blockade. Taking violence to new heights an unruly mob on 5th August in Akhnoor defying curfew orders attacked a Police post, 18 policemen were severely thrashed, and police station was set ablaze. 3

police vehicles, 16 motorcycles of the cops and private vehicle of the SHO and the Gujjar huts were torched (Greater Kashmir, 6 August 2008). The main stream leadership had to face the embarrassment once again when Mehbooba Mufti, Farooq Abdullah and Saifudin Soz were kept out of the meeting of central team and Samiti members on the insistence of the Sangharash Samiti. The valley of Kashmir meanwhile, again witnessed the intense protests and the historic Muzzafarabad March (Muzzafarabad Chalo) was organized by APHC, Fruit Growers' Association and Kashmir Chamber of Commerce as an alternative to end the economic strangulation of the valley. On 11th August 2008, around 4 to 7 lakh people took part in the historic march starting from Srinagar to be culminated in the capital Muzzafarabad of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. The marchers included men, women and children and the fruit laden trucks, everyone was on the move with the slogans of freedom reverberating in the 18 km long procession. The peaceful marchers were met with bullets first outside Srinagar at Sangrama where two youth were killed and several others injured. By the evening the marchers had reached close to Uri, the last township of Indian-administered Kashmir, when the Police and CRPF troopers at Chahal opened fire killing one of the veteran Hurriyat Leader Sheikh Abdul Aziz and wounding several others. Throughout valley around 27 people fell to bullets and Rudra tear shells (the shell banned for the civilian use which can penetrate an inch thick wooden plank) fired by CRPF troopers, Police and Army with another three people succumbing to their injuries the next day, the CRPF troopers even fired inside the civil Hospital in district Baramulla. Even the ambulances carrying injured and dead were attacked by Police and CRPF (Greater Kashmir, 13 August 2008). The march had to be

stopped and the Sheikh's body was taken back to Srinagar, where it was laid to rest the next day with 2 lakh people participating in his funeral prayers at the Eidgah ground Srinagar. The Hurriyat leaders gave a call to observe August 15 (Independence Day of India) as a black day with complete blackout from 8 Pm to 9 Pm. In Uri around 6000 people almost gave a slip to security men and were close to cross the LOC, though their attempt was thwarted. Enraged by unprovoked Police firing on unarmed civilians, the people ransacked many CRPF and Police bunkers throughout the Srinagar city. The valley commentators criticized the partisan approach of the state government pointing out how the peaceful protests of the valley were met with bullets and batons that resulted in the killing of 30 innocent civilians that too in a single day and at the same time the violent Jammu protests saw not even a single bullet being fired on the 'violent hooligans'. Mufti Sayeed, the PDP patron expressing anguish over the loss of precious lives in the valley, demanded Srinagar-Muzzafarabad road be made operational for goods and people. The party after withdrawing from the coalition government threw its lot on the people's side and joined the protests. The State Human Rights Commission commented "there has occurred naked human rights violations particularly on Monday August 11 at the hands of Jammu and Kashmir Police and other security forces. They have broken all records of Human Rights violations by using brute force and firing indiscriminately on peaceful marchers" (Greater Kashmir, 13 August 2008). The government of India had to receive the snub from OIC which expressed deep concern over the use of brute force on Kashmiris and UN also was observing the situation. Meanwhile, the protests continued throughout valley and for the first time all the 13 districts of valley were

put under curfew. The protest rallies were organized by people defying curfew orders; the local Daily Rising Kashmir put the death toll at 36 in 3 days of protests and mayhem. The Daily carried full photo coverage of an Imam (preacher) of a mosque being summoned by angry CRPF personnel and later mercilessly beaten and shot (The Daily Rising Kashmir, 14 August 2008). Inspector General of Police, Kashmir range in a face saving exercise ironically absolved Police of any hand in Srinagar Killings or elsewhere and put the blame on CRPF and Army (Greater Kashmir, 13 August 2008). Later CRPF, Police and Army were involved in the blame game for the innocent killings. In the night of 13th August 2008, protests were organized throughout the Srinagar city after midnight when CRPF troopers barged into houses in the dead of night beating everyone including women and children, the protests continued till the early hours of 14th August (Greater Kashmir, 14 August 2008). The injured began to flood in the Srinagar hospitals from different parts of the valley, CRPF troopers even fired outside SMHS hospital around 8 p.m. when the injured people from Pulwama were brought into the hospital. Doctors in different hospitals were of the opinion that the casualties due to bullet injuries were higher as bullets were being fired on the upper parts of the body including chest, heart and head. Sajad Lone, a Hurriyat leader, commented “bullets have been fired to kill and not to disperse” (Greater Kashmir, 14 August 2008). In other parts of the state like Kargil, Kishtwar, Doda, Rajouri and Poonch protests were organized in support of valley people. APHC reiterated its demand for repealing of draconian AFSPA and DAA following massive use of force by various security agencies throughout valley.

In the 50 days of unrest throughout the state, the state witnessed a loss of 10000 crore. The state's tourism, fruit industry, farm and banking sector were grossly affected. The valley's fruit industry alone witnessed a loss of 1000 crore (Joshi, Hindustan Times, 14 August, 2008). The Independence Day (15th August) address of the Prime Minister of India did carry a message for the state that the divisive politics on religious lines had to be stopped, but ironically there was not a single word for the innocent lives whose blood was spilled on the streets of valley for the past couple of days. While the valley is still brewing with unrest and the uncertainty looming over the ill fated region, I am closing this chapter with a hope that India, Pakistan and the world wakes up to address this long and pending issue of grave human concern.

Chapter 4

Literature Review

Literature review is the foundation stone of any type of the research exercise. It helps a researcher to formulate theoretical and empirical base so that the objectives of the study find adequate justification. It helps in limiting and designing research for the problem under study. The ideas related to the topic can be explored only through a well executed review of literature. A literature review is an account of what has been published on a topic by concerned scholars and researchers. The purpose of writing the literature review is highlight the ideas related to the topic, its weaknesses and strengths. It helps a researcher to think broadly and to relate the information gathered from field with that of existing body of knowledge for further theorization. The objective is that one must find and relate the problem under investigation with the existing body of knowledge for better theorization. Studies are to be critically analysed and examined not merely summarized.

On the basis of the above arguments, the present study has been taken up in the district Anantnag of Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore, it is imperative to review the material available, but most of the studies on the ongoing violence in Kashmir have been taken up in historical context and the genesis of dispute and its resolution and a little has been done on the impact of violence on the society and especially women as a vulnerable gender category. The material review here includes various journal articles and books and the nature of the reviewed literature is mostly qualitative.

The Kashmir dispute traces its origin to the black day of partition and the subsequent creation of India and Pakistan. Schofield presents a vivid account of the genesis of the dispute. Starting from early Hindu rule to subsequent Muslim rule, the valley finally went under the tyrannical rule of Dogras. Maharaja Hari Singh signed the instrument of accession with the India following the tribal invasion, which has itself been the subject of controversy. Schofield elaborates that the will of the people of Kashmir to decide their own fate as mentioned in the instrument of accession was never ascertained. Though state was bestowed with the special status but the towering personality of Kashmir politics whose services were utilized by New Delhi to make the accession possible and valid was subsequently jailed for most part of his life following the differences with Delhi. In his absence the puppet governments were installed in the state and the special status of the state was gradually eroded. Schofield traces the roots of current insurgency in the state to the faulty and dirty political practices adopted by the Indian government to merge the state fully into the Indian union. The insurgency brought the violence to the door steps of the common Kashmiri who have suffered on multiple counts, socially, economically, physically and mentally. There have been various initiatives for peace and settlement of the dispute between India and Pakistan, but the hard stances maintained by the contending parties and the non involvement of the Kashmiri people has derailed the process often. He Schofield brings to light the tale of exploitation of the people of valley since earlier times to the present (Schofield, 2004).

Similar work has been dealt in detail by other travellers and historians, the prominent being the Alistair Lamb's work. Lamb goes into the finer details of the dispute and discusses in detail the exploitation and political gimmicks adopted by New Delhi adopted at the time to bring Kashmir in its fold. The finer details from partition to the onset of insurgency have been thoroughly dealt with in the work. But the weight of his arguments falls in favour of the Kashmiri people castigating India for the state of affairs. None the less the work is a finest piece of literature on the Kashmir issue (Lamb, 1991).

Balraj Puri in a provocative article brings to light the first emotional rupture between the Kashmir and rest of India to the Sheikh Abdullah's arrest in August 1953. There was always a contradiction between Indian democracy and the regimented Kashmir, between monolithic Kashmiri nationalism and the regional aspirations of Jammu and Ladakh which exploded with the Sheikh's arrest. Sheikh had tactically handled the situation at the time of partition in India's favour when for the first and last time there was bitter feeling against Pakistan in Kashmiri sentiments. But for the political expediencies and the pressures from different quarters Sheikh couldn't hold to a single slogan. Puri also sees foreign hand in precipitating the Kashmir crisis particularly United States, who were in favour of an independent Kashmir and conveyed the same to the Sheikh. Puri clearly dissects the situation of the time and the bad move on the part of the Indian government to arrest the popular leader of Kashmir (Puri, 2003:5143).

Behera relates the issue of Kashmir with the larger concern of Indian democracy. Certain structural features of the modern state according to the author

are divisive and lie at the roots of tension and unrest in its polity. The western model of nation state has proved inadequate to fit the reality of Indian situation, which happens to be multi-religious, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-racial society. Author suggests two ways to give expression to pluralities of individuals and communities. First one aims at reviving traditions and second one appears to be post modern which aims for social movements. Suggesting that Indian national integration project has gone awry, sub national group identities have been identified as the basic cause of secessionist movements in the country by the author.

Suggesting that Kashmir conflict do not fall within the ambit of State-Center relations, author throws light on early history of Kashmir. The importance of Rishi movement and Sufi preachers is highlighted. The brief history from early Muslim rule and Sikh rule has been honestly dealt with followed by history of accords and discords between center and the state since 1947. While dealing with insurgency, the role of Pakistan in fomenting trouble in the state finds a special mention. The exodus of the Pandits from the valley has been related to systematic campaign, but the hand of the government has also been traced. The work suggests certain measures for the conflict resolution at last which sound to be inadequate and incomplete (Behera, 2000).

A distant voice for peace comes from Hashim Qureshi. Being in exile for most part of his life, he searches for final solution to the Kashmir conflict. He strongly believes in non violent means for the independence of Kashmir and charges both Pakistan and India for the present plight of Kashmiris. He is strongly

concerned with the human rights violations going on unabated in the violence torn region. He discards any solution of the dispute on religious lines and is a strong advocate of pluralistic Kashmiri nation. He devotes a certain part of his energy criticizing Alistair Lamb dubbing him a biased historian. He is apprehensive of Indo-Pak dialogue to be a lasting solution for the dispute and presses all parties concerned, both India and Pakistan to go for peace first. Advocating peace as an anodyne to alleviate sufferings of a common Kashmiri and a means to correct injustices, he regards peace as only means to avert a disastrous and destructive war between India and Pakistan (Qureshi, 1999).

A more provocative account of the inside story comes from the well researched work of Humra Quraishi. Touching briefly about the history of the state she brings forth the real stories of the people torn in conflict after travelling extensively for over two decades in valley. There is some sort of fear, anxiety and uncertainty in every soul she has encountered with. There are young people who have grown hysteric after undergoing humiliation, torture and interrogation on daily basis. Every family of Kashmir has a heart rending story to tell. She brings into light the hidden dimension of conflict, how it has affected women, men and children of the valley who have suffered this pain silently without being noticed by outside world. The mothers waiting for their disappeared sons, wives living a status of half widows with uncertain future, young girls molested, raped and kept in detention, the minds of youth being punctured with brutality who sometimes find solace in drugs, the air of uncertainty about the ubiquitous violence that where it will raise its head again and who is going to reach home back safely is the story

of contemporary Kashmir. With all this the morals and values of the society are undergoing gradual deterioration, but at the same time to cope with situation, there is hardening of religiosity to face any situation with courage. The work is a classic account of the conflict situation in Kashmir and justifies its title 'the untold stories' (Quraishi, 2004).

The violence has become a multidisciplinary approach, it may be political, economic, social, behavioral and psychological violence, it can be analysed in different social scientific perspectives. For Mills 'all politics is struggle for power, the ultimate power is violence' (Mills, 1956). Marx suggests that 'state is an instrument of oppression in the hands of the ruling class'. There is a casual link between politics, power and violence.

Charles Tilly captures violence in many manifestations and terms it as collective violence which is politically driven and understood action between groups. Tilly tries to answer questions like why people having lived peacefully for long start killing each other? And why do certain political forms use different degrees and forms of violence. The triggering of violence is traced to activation of latent political identities i.e. "Us" and "Them". But violence often emerges from uncertainties and shifting social conditions than from preexisting hatred. He identifies six categories of collective violence as : violent rituals, coordinated destruction, opportunism, brawls, scattered attacks and broken negotiations. He finds similarities between different forms of violence, like he compares Rwandan violence with Detroit riots (1967) to highlight role of opportunism in collective violence. He discards the myth of collective violence being the product of

backward cultures of third world or the realm of individuals under low social control. Tilly identifies several mechanisms like 'category formation', 'boundary activation', 'polarization', and 'brokerage' to be the reason for variation in the incidence of collective violence. The role of 'political entrepreneurs' and 'violent specialists' has been aptly highlighted in these processes (Tilly, 2003).

John Keane sees play of incivility in all forms of civil society. A highly developed society contains violent tendencies, the patterns of incivility or behavior prone to violence, the stronger crush the weaker. The spatial and temporal changes make theorization of violence complicated. He judges violence as unwanted physical interference and be inflicted or self inflicted where a subject may suffer bodily harm or annihilation. Emphasizing involuntary character of violence, he describes it as the denial of subject's freedom to act in and upon the world.

He dubs concept of violence to be idealtypish, but the crux is it erodes civility. Speaking on the ethics of the use of violence, he brackets it to be a strong legal and moral issue. Both individual and collective violence has been justified at times for larger goals of the society. In revolutionary context violence is glorified, so that actors feel a similar situation. The basic incompatibility between violence and civil society is camouflaged. He judges pacifism to be a great tool against violence, which recognizes violence to be a scourge in civil society. Pacifism renounces violence in any form. Democratic pluralistic society often finds itself in a stymie whether to use violence or not. There is rejection of both pacifism and fetish of violence. It demands context or situation based judgements whether to use violence or not for achieving certain ends. Keane devotes certain part of his

energy downplaying incompatibility between Islam and democracy as has been widely projected in literature. Citing curious examples, he shows Islamic democratic traditions as present in Islamic Shariah (code of conduct) and teachings of the holy 'Quran'. He pinpoints the problem of Islamic nations to what he calls transition to democracy dilemma, thus freeing the reader from the prejudices towards the Islam to be associated with fundamentalism and violence (Keane, 1996).

Pandey focuses on the violence of ordinary times which he calls "routine Violence". He looks at violence as a pre modern category (what happened before rational thought and organization society) and at the same time as residual one (acts of aggression and destruction for which he can't find an approved or scientific name, like war, mutiny, punishment, insurgency and counter insurgency to be described by word violence). He gives three types of indicators to go into our understanding of what constitutes violence. The first is organization and scale. If these are large enough and developed, the acts do not qualify as violence, which is why state is often exempt. The second is technology. The more the sophisticated technology, the less acts qualify as violence. And the third is race, incorporating class, gender and culture e.g. Muslim in India is a man with women and children barely visible, whereas the Hindu is a family and usually an extended one. Thus state violence and majoritarian violence against minorities is often dubbed as an aberration and do not qualify as violence always.

Focusing on the enormity of violence in ordinary times, he finds events in many countries having relation with routine violence because violence is so

routine and invisible. Pandey finds it hard to trace the history of this routine violence and settles to analyze recurrent violence between communities defined as majorities and minorities, natural citizens and hyphenated ones, autochthones and allochthones. Within this realm he shifts to 20th century India where he deconstructs the 'partition violence' and 'communal violence' being described as aberration or riots often and thus set with closures. He views such violence as social fact. There is violence involved in the unrelenting construction of the enemies of the nation, and the concomitant denial of equal rights or respect to the latter. The violence is unceasing, if partly unconscious and often disguised. There is construction of permanent majorities and minorities based on racial, religious and ethnic differences. These minorities often pose threat to the mainstream political community and their being appears a threat. The author investigates the ideological and political conditions that allow the undisguised political violence of our times. He is concerned with the regnant demands of the nationalism and of history writing and the unity and uniformity these insist upon. These demands have internal inducement to violence, since something sacred is protected by it. The sacred used to be civilization, but now it is a natural liberal nation state which is represented by sacred political community. The author tries to recognize the violence that we now live with as a "normal" condition of political life (Pandey, 2006)

Stanko in a collection of essays brings to light the violence in ordinary times operating in the lives of people under different circumstances. Stanko opines that most of the violence is purposeful and targeted and a little violence is random.

Often violence is attributed to a stranger yet most of the violence occurs within the ambit of familiarity. It is the people themselves who describe a violent act to be ‘trivial’ or ‘criminal act’.

First part of the collection deals with social contexts of different forms of violence. The meaning to violence is provided by a particular social context. Violence is not ‘natural’ or an ‘inevitable’ thing, its patterns decipher the larger societal patterns of advantage and societal disadvantage. The next section of the collection deals with domestic violence shows interplay of violence, power and control in relationships. The section dealing with sexual violence demonstrates that there is abuse of familiarity and violation of personal trust. The next section stresses on exploring intersection between offending and victimization for evolving a better policy on violence more rigorously and creatively. The next section urges readers to think about the social contexts for particular forms of violence. The next section focuses on social construction of violence as how people and society at large make sense of certain events as violent. There is a need to criticize the discourses which give sense to violent behavior. There is always focus on individual acts of individual actors and the wider contribution of ideologies, communities, social and political life is ignored. Last section of the collection deals with the political violence. A focus is made on the state’s use of violence and its justification of doing so as legitimate. The state legitimacy of use of violence is challenged. The reader is prompted throughout the collection to go beyond individual (perpetrator, act, victim) in both individual and collective

violence and concentrate on violence in social context, only then the real meanings and the causes of violence come to the forefront (Stanko, 2002).

Wydra brings attention to the unprecedented violence of 20th century and new forms of urban violence like hooliganism and suicide terrorist attacks in her paper. With violence being omnipresent, she tries to understand recurrence of violence in the modern state. The amorphous nature of violence makes it difficult to be bracketed in boundaries. There has been increasing control over means and use of violence by the state, thus state's monopoly over violence sometimes leads to unprecedented scale of inhumanity and destruction. Terming violence to be a basic character of state, Wydra points out that power of the law curbs contagious and boundless character of violence, but at the same time state terms certain violent and inhuman acts as legitimate.

The violence has its origin in reciprocity, conflict triggers aggressiveness. There is creation of antagonisms to perpetuate violence in society by mobilizing emotions. It is because violent conflict always feeds on negative communications such as hatred and desire for vengeance. Wydra says that everybody wants progress towards peace, but violence cannot be eliminated, because conflict is very basis of life. The possibility of pacifying violence lies in transformation of destructive, retaliatory and reciprocal violence into creative, positive and reciprocal non violence (Wydra, 2008).

Armstrong and Tennenhouse offer two modalities of violence. One which is out there in the world and the other which is exercised through words upon

things by attributing violence to them. The latter is the violence of productive hypothesis: the violence of representation. The violence of representation is the suppression of differences. The words have a hegemonic effect when they happen to come from outside power centers. To regard certain practices as violent, it is demonstrated that it is just to take up a position for or against them. It is just the instance of creating self and others. The work throughout demonstrates that how imperial nations, colonies and current foreign policies use violence of representation as ubiquitous form of power. From early modern culture, modern culture to contemporary culture, the various essays of the collection demonstrate that how a ruling class commands the status of ruling class being against certain others. By holding the possession of certain cultural terms, in terms of what is right and what is wrong, they command hegemony. The view points that are not of dominant race, gender and ethnic groups remain excluded (Armstrong and Tennenhouse, 1989).

A new phenomenon of women participation in subversive terrorist movements is brought to light by Neuburger and Valentini. The authors search for the psychological and sociological reason for the participation of women in these activities though traditionally they are not associated with it. Using data from the judicial proceedings in eight terrorist cases (Italian) the authors have studied a sample population of men and women terrorists from various Italian groups. The authors thus reevaluate women in the sense that their research suggests women terrorists are less prone to repentance than men. Using these inputs the work

suggests creating and predicting certain conditions that facilitate repentance among these women (Neuburger & Valentini, 1996).

A study by Isin and Finn analyses violent suicide bombings going on around the world, which seemed to be unimaginable a few decades ago. Such acts remain no longer unexpected, unpredictable or original, rather routinized, ritualized and mimetic practices. Literature on suicide is centered on condemning it as evil or judging it as absolute good. But this paper focuses on the issue that how once residual act of authenticity or originality has been reduced to an act of imitation and thereby transformed into a routinized, ritualized and mimetic practice. The authors accept that the suicide violence against domination, oppression, injustice and abjection may be justified as original and radical, but it loses its character as an act when it becomes routine. Thus, violence becomes more irrational when it is rationalized.

The paper further suggests that banalized suicide violence no longer remains an act but what Bourdieu calls 'habitus'. The two aspects of this banalized violence are means-turned-ends shift in which goal of liberation is subordinated by the goal of bloodshed and the everyday quality of act where daily detonating of bombs has become prosaic and mimetic. Thus, it can be concluded that indifference, narrow judgements and total discrimination of others has banalized and normalized suicide violence. When suicide violence comes in fold of habitus, it is bound for repetition. This compulsion to repeat replicates a suicidal state into a global suicidal state. This creates neurosis of the body politic and the citizens

through threat of repetition. Thus 'war on terror' and 'suicide violence' become two sides of the same coin producing neurotic citizens (Isin & Finn, 2008).

Shapiro and Siegel while breaking the myth that terrorist organizations provide inadequate funds to their operatives to carry out terrorist attacks point out that organizations have ample resources. It is the supporting network, middlemen, not driven by mission accomplishment, but by monetary rewards that happen to be loose threads. The paper presents a hierarchical terrorist organization where leaders for security reasons delegate financial and logistics task to middle men. The geographical barriers separate these middlemen and command of the organizations and the threat of their defection to the government side make these middlemen immune to punishment from organization. The principal-agent model presented by this paper is applicable to most of the terrorist organizations hierarchically organized worldwide.

The paper comes out with certain policy implications. Firstly removing of easily identifiable middlemen eases pressure on terrorist organizations and violent attacks flare up. Secondly, reduction of funds below a threshold drastically affects networks strike compatibility. Thirdly, similar threshold affect exists for counter terror efforts. Fourthly, efforts to reduce the terrorist funding can't yield results until they reach a threshold. Finally, model strongly advocates for non violent use of counter terror financing. Initiating the political process can drastically alter the cooperation between the leaders and middlemen. It becomes clear that instead of differentiating these organizations in terms of ideologies and goals, the internal structure of these organizations needs to be worked out. This will lead to better

understanding of terrorism and at the same time better counter terror efforts leading to establishment of lasting peace (Shapiro & Siegel, 2007).

In an article Vombatkere starts with the conception of democracy being an ideal concept, where protest can't be avoided. He insists that protest should not be suppressed, which is violation of human rights by the state. The reciprocal of this violence is rise of the militancy. Endorsing the liberal view that state should be soft on militants and terrorists so that the rights of these groups are protected, he at the same time criticizes the view that today's terrorist may be tomorrow's liberator by conversely recognizing that today's liberator may be tomorrow's terrorist. This way he highlights the matter of terrorism and violence by the state. Although he draws roots of violence to free availability of arms and ammunition in many societies, he at the same time shifts attention to economic violence by the state, where state happens to be the aggressor often. The result is use of violence by the oppressed to assert their rights and counter violence by the state which highlights it as an aberration and not a disease.

He concludes by highlighting the conflict of interest and consequent protest as an integral part of a functioning society. When state denies opportunity and means of protest, subverts the democratic process and norms, then violence proliferates, police/military become intrusive and political leaders become passive behind security walls. The state dubs protesting men as 'terrorist'. Therefore, he castigates state mechanism being the primary cause of violence and terrorism (Vombatkere, 1998).

Williams presents a review of widespread ethnic conflicts within nations. Discussing the varieties of nationalisms, he draws attention to ethnicity based nationalism. He highlights the world wide trend towards smaller and more homogenous states. Williams draws light on how state categorizes and treats citizens and how states foment ethnic conflicts in mad power struggle. Tracing the source of ethnic conflicts to economic alienation, land, power and group position, he asserts that violent conflicts arise due to major political transitions, changes in economic and social position of large ethnics within states. There is direct rivalry between the conflicting groups for political autonomy and dominance. Williams discusses at length dynamics and mobilization of the conflict.

Williams finally addresses the resolution of the conflict to be negotiation and political activity like elections, but he at the same time finds interstate peace to be crucial determinant for intrastate peace. Finally describing resolution of conflict to be a vital and most important issue, he opines for the third party mediation. Nonetheless the work substantially contributes to the study of ethnic conflicts within states (Williams, 2003).

Fearon and Laitin in their paper while refuting the prevalence of civil conflicts in present day world to be the outcome of post cold war international system lay responsibility on financially and administratively weak states. Insurgency has been used as an instrument for satisfying various political ambitions throughout the world. But the conditions that favour it are poverty, large population and instability. The other grievances like economic discrimination, lack of civil liberties and state oppression happen to be marginal according to the

authors. It has been highlighted that the actual active rebels happen to be handful but what counts is that rebels can hide and attract cadre because of dilapidated economic conditions and with support of non active rebels. Tracing the roots of civil wars to decolonization, the authors point out the weak administrative states without control on peripheries to be the cause of internal strife in the states.

Describing democracy as a possibility for peace and denouncing partition on ethnic lines, the paper finds no evidence where civil war is the outcome of large cultural divisions or broadly held grievances; it rather produces the same and obstructs resolution. The paper proposes that international and non government organizations should come forward to help states facing civil wars so that states become financially and administratively competent. For regional peace the organizations like United Nations, NATO and European Union should intervene to promote internal coordination among multiple players involved (Fearon & Laitin, 2003).

In an edited work of 2001, a new perspective has been provided for articulation of the multi complexity of the aftermath of the conflict beyond two limited approaches as defined by editors as 'needs based' and 'rights based'. The work first provides an overview of themes with a variety of topics like losses of women during war, be it health, economic, social, educational; violence affecting women; feminization of poverty; power imbalances in terms of gender with a special attention on how women should be involved in peace building processes. Individual cases of South Asia, Eritrea, Yugoslavia, Nigeria, Sri Lanka etc have been elaborated. In post conflict situation it has been described there is recreation

of patriarchy and traditional roles of some women are reenacted. It has been affirmed that conflict is an opportunity for developing creative potential of women, shifting their roles and gender stereotypes. At the same time this collective strength of women to identify their energies can be employed in peace building and political change (Meintjes, Pillay & Turshen, 2001).

The views of the above paragraph find voice in a paper about Palestinian violence. The paper brings to light the new dimension, the impact of participation in social movements on the lives of individual women in the aftermath of their participation. It has been pointed out that there exist among these participants a 'feminist generation' having egalitarian gender ideology and a sense of self efficacy. Quoting Karl Mannheim 'similarly located contemporaries share affinity in their collective response to the events of tumultuous historical moments constitute a political generation', and the members of this generation continue to be bound together even after the turbulent historical times have passed', author bases his argument on participating members of Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees (PFWAC). The participating women in PFWAC were engaged in income generating and pre schools sponsored by the organization. PFWAC being a nationalist feminist organization was created in the occupied Palestinian territories in 1978 by Democratic Front for Liberation of Palestine (DFLP). The deep political involvement pushed these women into new ideological and personal directions. While these members of PFWAC managed to change status quo in their social worlds, but non existence of local and national feminist institutional support limited their progress to total change of their identities. The

demise of PFWAC snatched from these women a source of feminist institutional, ideological and cultural support.

The study comes out with a revelation that although PFWAC failed in the feminist component of its agenda, yet it produced a feminist generation that remained distinctive for nearly five years after the demise of the organization. Acts of challenging gender norms at individual level are necessary, but they seem to be insufficient to change the gender order for lack of cultural and institutional support. It is a classic study showing casing the conflict as an opportunity to develop creative potential of women (Hasso, 2001).

Another work provides in contrast to above the sufferings of women in the conflict. The work brings forth the testimonies of women of the ordinary women from Ireland, which helps us to construct a sketch of the effects of armed conflict in the region. The individual accounts show horrific accounts of violence against women in the context of armed conflict. The death, brutality, molestation, interrogation and searches are just the simple accounts of state brutality to suppress the violence. The scars of these brutalities will remain with these women opines author. These stories just bring out the stories of brutalization of the women in occupied territories and conflict zones. Ironically, while political elite search out for the peace processes, the women continue to be the soft targets of violence to which no attention is paid. The work aptly highlights the agonies and maltreatment of women in conflict situations (Calamati, 2002).

A detailed account of two decades of violence from 1980-2000 in Peru has been brought out by Hays-Mitchell. The paper presents a vivid account of the widespread human rights abuses in the region like torture, kidnappings, killings and forced disappearances at the hands of various agencies be it rebel organizations, state agents or paramilitary groups. The author examines the conflict in terms of 'spatial injustice' and 'citizenship'. In Peru rights and duties of the democratic citizenship are to a large extent determined by discrepancies in geographic, social and economic location. Thus applying the concept of spatial injustice, the author points out that particular stratum of Peruvian population has been denied the rights of democratic citizenship on the basis of geographical and social location. With the power base located at urban center of Lima, the rural indigenous people lag in endemic poverty having a de jure status as citizens and had never access to justice. The struggles for material well being by these indigenous majorities won them de jure recognition as part of the national community with expansion of suffrage to them in 1980. Soon after words the elected government faced resistance from Sendero Luminoso (communist party of Peru) and the Maoist party backed (MRTA) guerilla group to overthrow the government. With the spread of violence, there were widespread human rights abuses though Sendero Luminoso and MRTA were neutralized by 1990. Throughout 1990's President Alberto Fujimori employed violence to legitimize his authoritarian rule. A series of amnesty laws to military and security forces gave them a de facto immunity. In 2001 new President Valentin Paniagua established truth commission to investigate human rights violations. 17000 testimonies were collected from different cross sections of the society and also around 1000 sites

were identified as mass graves (Human Rights Watch, 2003). The report bears that ethnicity was highly relevant to the degree of violence committed in Peru's internal conflict. Out of 70,000 victims four fifths were non combatants. Over half of the killings have been attributed to non state actors (militias). In its final report TRC identifies a strong correlation between social exclusion and intensity of violence. Most of the victims belonged to rural (79%) or peasant (56%) groups which face highest degree of social exclusion. Same is the case with deaths and disappearances. Similarly victim's educational levels were far below national average suggesting disproportionate and race specific impact of violence. Over 70% of victims of torture and displaced were indigenous Quenchua speaking people. The perpetrators often cited ethnic and racial grounds to justify the acts of violence.

The paper establishes a clear relationship between social exclusion and the intensity of violence having spatial implications. The main areas of violence happen to be rural departments, with 90% of victims and only 10% of died or disappeared belong to wealthier sections of society (Amnesty International 2004, 15). The violence and the victims took greater importance on public opinion only when it reached centers of economic and political power. Before that because of veiled racism that the people of indigenous, rural and poor origin were given little consideration as citizens, the deaths of the Quenchua speaking went unnoticed by national public opinion (Hays-Mitchell, 2008).

A recent collection of essays by Shrestha and Thapa present a vivid picture of impact of armed violence on women in South Asia. Countries of India,

Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka. Although every country bears particular historical roots to the problem, but conflicts have been mainly concentrated in the remotest, poorest and under developed areas. The discrimination and disadvantage has led to the emergence of identity based political groups who have taken up the cause of their particular community, be it independence, nationhood, self determination, autonomy, secession or separation. While the conflict may have transnational and international dimensions, but the physical violence remains concentrated in one geographical region and at the same time internal issue in each country. The authors discuss at length the ramifications of conflict like increasing dominance of patriarchy, impact of militarization on women and men etc. the papers in the collection throw light on various forms of repression and abuse women go through at the hands of various agencies. Women living in conflict situations have been subjected to range of human rights violations like rape, molestation, physical and sexual violence. Women being considered as appendages of men have been given differential treatment. Women are also indirectly affected in terms of killing, torture, disappearance of their family members. There has been increase in female headed households, stressing women with additional burden of maintaining the household. Because of the vulnerable nature of adolescent girls, their movement has been restricted affecting their education.

The conflict also takes its toll on the local economy of the area as frequent shutdowns, curfews, firings and strikes bring life to a standstill. States also indulge in increased military budgets sidelining the developmental programmes. There has

been masculinization of society and at the same time masculine nature of militarization easily transforms conflict into a form that can be expressed only through use of violence. The shifting of conflict from borders to internal areas brings women to the fore front of the conflict. Being the symbols of honour of the family/community/nation, they become vulnerable targets of the outsiders and at times become victims of genocide by their own men when their bodies are perceived to be polluted. The condition of widows and half widows becomes precarious. They become high risk groups in terms of sexual harassment, abuse and health risk. The women also have to bear the pressures of alienated youth who increasingly resort to drugs and alcohol. For the lasting peace in the South Asian context there is a need to redefine democracy, where participation of women in various programmes is a must (Shrestha & Thapa, 2007).

Shifting now to Kashmir conflict, in a provocative article, Ritu Diwan brings forth the inside story, the suffering of ordinary people of Kashmir. She points out that violence in many forms has intersected the lives of common Kashmiri. There have been frequent custodial killings, tortures, crossfire killings, disappearances, rape and molestation going on throughout length and breadth of the valley. She gives account of mass rapes like Kunan Poshpora and highlights the suffering of victims in the aftermath. The social stigma associated with rape resulted in the divorce or continuous unmarried status of most of the victims in addition to teasing from men. Diwan is of the opinion that rape has been used as a tool to crush the movement. Focusing her attention on the plight of migrant Kashmiri pandit women, she points out that they have been forced to live in small

tents and frequent wife battering reports are coming in. These women unlike their men trust their Muslim brothers, whom they admire for the respect they received from them always. Focusing on the health care in valley, Diwan finds hospitals crippled. The number of patients especially violence related victims is on rise. At the same time, these hospitals are frequently raided by troops, who often beat up doctors and staff, enter operation theaters and labour rooms when the operations are going on. The condition is simple abject.

The education system has suffered too in the continuous violence. School buildings have been occupied by forces or burnt. Even the University of Kashmir has faced the wrath of violence. The campus is frequently raided and the teachers, students and staff find themselves at the mercy of soldiers. The education of girls has been affected on account of widespread sexual harassment by forces. Parents find it difficult to send their daughters to school and college if these are located at a distance. Diwan also finds the instances of cultural imperialism, where women are forced to wear Burqa or young skirt wearing girls are forced to wear salwar-kameez. Although main victim has been the youth, but women have been targeted in front of their families, this has forced many youth to join militant ranks.

Diwan concludes with certain issues which need immediate attention. The future of raped women, widows and half widows, the economic survival of widows and orphans are of prime importance. The people have been caught between state terrorism and militants. The unemployment and daily humiliation motivate men to pick up arms for final solution. The testimonies of people as Diwan points out suggest people want freedom from India and a lasting peace.

Diwan ends up with a note of caution that continuous brutalization of people might lead to polarization of religious identities and might lead to loss of pluralistic, syncretic culture of 'Kashmiriyat'. She concludes with a hope that Kashmiri pandits will one day return to valley, the lost glory of the valley will be restored (Diwan, 1994).

A report on human rights violations is presented by K.M.Chenoy. with a brief political sketch of the state, there is a focus on counter insurgency laws especially Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA). The act is not only violative of fundamental rights enshrined in the constitution of India, but also to International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to which India is a signatory. Owing to their immunity from prosecution under the garb of law, the armed forces resorted to gross human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir. Not only the armed forces but militants have been charged of human rights violations, be it targeting of political activists, destruction of property, buildings and bridges by militants, grenade attacks or landmine explosions. Although main targets happen to be uniformed men, but people often get caught in between. Another form of human rights violation by militants are disappearances and forced exodus of pandits according to the report.

A considerable amount of attention has been paid to the plight of widows, Chenoy finds three set of problems for them. First set of problems include emotional stress, denial of inheritance rights, sexual harassment and social undesirability. Second set of problems include mismanagement of home affairs, loss of control on children and inferiority complex. A third set of problems include

loneliness, physical insecurity, over burden of domestic work and other works and the compulsion for remarriage.

It has been reported that State Human Rights Commission (SHRC) and National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) have received a total of 708 allegations of human rights violations from 1996-1999. But the actual figures seem to be quite high as the violations by security forces do not come under their ambit. Report suggests that Indian security forces have been involved in gross human rights violations. The reports of arson after a fire fight are common. The security forces have been charged of using innocent civilians as “Human Shields”. Even the democratic protests by people have been suppressed by use of brute force. The illegal detention, torture, rape and molestation have become a modus operandi of security forces. The Special Operations Group or STF of J&K police have been notorious for human rights violations. To get promotions, STF and army have been involved in number of fake encounter killings. Similarly, ‘renegades’ the government backed militants show scant respect for any human rights. The common man suffers humiliation or violation daily on being frisked or subjected to severe questioning. In some rural areas a ‘lights out’ is enforced after 10 PM sharp, damaging future prospects of students who need to burn midnight oil. The valley is simply filled with widespread fear and despair and the final solution is a big necessity to put an end to the crisis (Chenoy, 2001).

Balraj Puri in his article shows a high concern towards the killing of innocent victims by security forces and militants in Kashmir. Although it has led to sense of insecurity but more seriously it has led to communalization of violence.

Militants are being accused of targeting Hindus and army is accused of targeting Muslims. Puri stresses on media to take the initiative to present the true pictures and diffuse this communal buildup. The article concludes with a remark that while there appears no immediate relief in fighting, the militants and army should observe some minimum rules so that the lives of innocent civilians are spared (Puri, 1998).

A report carried out in the Radical Humanist brings into light the oppressional tactics of arson, extortion and human rights violations adopted by pro government militants like Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon of Kukka Paray. The group receives full backing of the Indian army while they go on with their daily business of bullying the innocent people. Such type of counter insurgency operations have been employed in Punjab also, which leads to widespread human rights abuse.

The report draws certain conclusions; the basic issue of Kashmir is the aspirations of the people which should be met. The Kashmiris want to shape their own national destiny. At the same time report is cautious that final solution must meet the aspiration of every section and part of the state and not the valley alone. The report ends with an appeal to the government of India to let the Kashmiris decide their own future, and India should act as facilitator and not as obstrucater in this process (Radical Humanist, March 1996).

Arun Joshi presents a picture of late 1990's in the valley. It is a beautiful comparison of urban and rural landscapes of conflict. In the urban context there is an activity towards normalcy and people have started to enjoy their leisure time in

gardens and recreation after a long gap, the rural scene at the same time presents a grim picture. The rural people are still subjected to crackdowns, frisked, detained and suspected. The pro government insurgents are demeaning their lives. This shows a marked contrast between the two spheres. Although there appears a tussle between political and bureaucratic forces, but the picture is that of brisk political activity. It shows a bright ray of hope out of the dark clouds of violence, that things are moving towards normalcy, though at the same time the spatial distribution of violence becomes quite manifest (Joshi, 1997).

In a provocative article Ruby Dhar advocates for the empowerment of women who have been victims of violence at public and private sphere. Until 1993 December the female targeted violence was not acknowledged by the international community when UN General Assembly adopted declaration of the elimination of violence against women.

Discussing domestic violence, sexual violence and trafficking of women and girls, the violence against women in war and armed conflicts has also been discussed. It has been pin pointed that victims of the armed conflicts happen to be civilians at large and especially women. Women are physically, mentally and emotionally tortured. Rape, abduction and forced abortion become a common sight. In armed conflicts, women are physically and economically forced into prostitution. Curiously, 80% of the refugees throughout the world happen to be women and children. The laws and measures adopted at the national and international levels happen to be inadequate to bring about the gender equality.

The crux lies in changing societal attitude towards women, thus changing gender roles and relations (Dhar, 2005).

A paper by Sreekala Sivasankaran analysis the Kashmir conflict from the perspective of women abuse. There has been no widespread condemnation against violent abuse of women. It has been pointed out that in conflict zones like Kashmir there has been outright policy of sexual abuse against women resorted to by government security forces and militants. Rape not only perishes the honour and identity of woman, but it has been used as a weapon of male defeat, that he could not protect his property. This way when state uses rape as a strategy in conflict, notion of female justice vanishes in thin air. Dealing with gendered politics and its repercussions on women, the paper highlights the fact that even after participation in liberation movements, the women are pushed back to their traditional roles once the objective is achieved. The author describes that the boundaries are created around women's sexuality and hence women are targeted in creating and breaking boundaries. Again it has been pointed out that heavy militarization in conflict zones show usual increase in prostitution. The sexual access to women has been organized for military for centuries, demonstrating fundamental connection between militarism and forced heterosexuality.

The Kashmir has also witnessed violence in the form of coercion to maintain fundamental religious identity. The women have been subjected to acid attacks and even gunshots for disobeying the dictum of fundamentalists. For genuine and enduring peace in the region, gender sensitive knowledge of Kashmir issue needs to be worked out (Sivasankaran, 2001).

A study by Anuradha M. Chenoy compares and contrasts the conflicts in the Indian states of Manipur, Nagaland and Kashmir. Although there happen to be fundamental differences in the nature of disputes in these areas, but at the same time there appear similarities in terms of large scale militarization, victimhood and human rights violations in these regions.

The counter insurgency mechanisms employed by the state in terms of various operations and Acts have not only resulted in the killing, trauma and loss of property but has certain social and economic implications. The troops act with impunity under the garb of special laws where they are free to kill, detain, and raise houses on mere suspicion. Social norms break down and there is mass of alienated youth, who become easy victims of drugs and alcoholism, whose ultimate burden falls on women. The economic institutions become paralyzed as frequent strikes, shutdowns, closures, and cross fires heavily affect the normal life and functioning of institutions.

Chenoy is of the opinion that during conflict, the patriarchal controls increase and gender differences are essentialised. Symbolized as honour of the community, family or nation, they are either confined to private sphere to be protected or violated as symbols of enemy. Women's identity gets killed as militarist values prevail, where victimhood of a woman is often symbolized as the victimhood of a nation, thus facilitating retribution and nationalism. Women also accept the patriarchal hierarchies for the sake of nationalism and liberation. The women's activism has been related by Chenoy to cultural and social history of the region. It is because of this reason we can witness fledgling women's

organizations in the north east that intervene in civil society issues, but in Kashmir women take part in protests with no independent women organizations.

Chenoy brings to light the fact that because of increased masculinization and militarism, women are not considered party to the conflict. Their role is restricted to nurturing and working in family, community and society. Rejecting women as potential peacemakers, Chenoy opines women's motherhood can be employed to intervene and the motherhood combined with victimhood gives them power restricted to society and familial roles and not to the political society. Despite these limitations, Chenoy is of the opinion that women can play symbolic and real roles in peacemaking. Because of their experience of war, conflict and pain, women happen to be more inclined to peace. The need of the hour is to mobilize women as a resource, not as a symbol, but as agency for peace (Chenoy, 2008).

A study conducted by Oxfam India brings to light the impact of violence on the youth of Kashmir, especially students. The study has been taken in the educational context, because study believes that prevailing education system is an extension of established power structure, which seeks to further itself through this instrument. Going through the history, the traditional hierarchies of elite and religious domination survived despite so called secular advances. The authority continued to emerge from the pulpit and the education remained the domain of Pandits and upper class Muslims. Curiously, women find no identity. The intellectuality has found no expression, it has been stifled, and so has been the common man who has lost consciousness and pride in local culture.

The study shows that besides killing, torture and loss of property, violence has much deeper impact on the family, education, media, public discourse and mental health. The continuous suffering has made people immune to violence and pain. The education system has become defunct or is ill equipped, there is stagnation and the dynamics has vanished. The employment opportunities have shrunk. The personalities of the youth have been blunted, there is deep fear and leisure has been killed. Media has become a state tool of propaganda. But the positive effects of conflict happen to be political sensitization and consciousness, social mobility and exposure which have to some extent broken status quo. The marginal (common man) have begun to assert voices and opinions. People are even moving out of valley for better carriers and exposed to new environment. The women have seen active participation in the movement and have thus come out of the restricted domestic sphere. The empowered women at the same time have been subjected to shoulder the extra burden of responsibilities in a variety of ways depending upon the situations. The study throws light on various latent aspects of violence on Kashmir (Kashani, Kanth & Fazili, 2003).

Bhabani Sen Gupta advocates for the voices from civil society to be a fuel for bridging Indo-Pak animosity. He is optimistic that for the real progress, the solving of the Kashmir dispute is a must. For India keeping the Kashmir issue intact will make it impossible to forge the bridges of amity and cooperation with Pakistan and at the same time keeping war like situation in Kashmir will jeopardize and derail the peace process. He is optimistic of the peace to be

prevailed in the region. The need is small progresses should be counted and the time is given for the initiatives to bloom (Gupta, 1997).

A paper demonstrates the importance of the regional organizations in the conflict resolution. Citing examples of Cambodia and Liberia where ASEAN and ECOWAS successfully helped in de-escalation of conflict, this study advocates for the similar role on the part of SAARC to act as a mediator and deescalate Indo-Pak conflict over the Kashmir issue. It is opined that the regional organizations can mobilize international players and organizations like United Nations to act in unison for deescalating the conflict.

The nature and character of the regional organizations make them suitable for the cause of conflict resolution. Since, states forming these organizations share geographical proximity and thereby share common history and culture. However, hostility among neighbours distorts this attribute. But at the same time it can't be ruled out that regional organizations tend to be more capable of bringing parties to the negotiating Table than international organizations. This leads one to believe that conflict resolution is more successful when crated on the basis of the regional norms and values. The issues of formal or informal nature of conflict resolution depend upon regional context each having their own way of dealing with the emergent situations. Describing SAARC to be a platform to address the long pending Kashmir issue, the article judiciously advocates for regional conflict mechanism to be the 'way out' for the conflict resolution in the region. The precondition is existing regional organization should overcome current inertia and dormancy (Jamadhagni, 2005).

Another voice for conflict resolution comes from the paper which starts with a brief history of the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian union, center-state relations and the political mismanagement of the affairs of the state leading to the rise of militancy in the state. Ruling out the militarist solutions to the dispute, the paper stresses on the negotiated settlement. The partition of the state on the religious lines is also found to be untenable. The paper criticizes the demand for the 'self determination' on the ground that it will lead to the destabilization of the Indian nation and open up a chapter of similar demands in other states of the union leading to the balkanization. The paper provides an alternative to Azadi (freedom) and self determination in the form of 20 point agenda. To include a few, it advocates for mutual truce between fighting groups, release of political prisoners and militants followed by a general amnesty, independent human rights commission to look into human rights abuses, greater regional autonomy followed by free and fair elections, return of migrants to the valley, negotiation with Pakistan, porous border for the free movement of people on both sides of LOC, opening up of roads and routes to facilitate trade between two parts of the state etc.

The final settlement has to be affected by including the representatives of the state to be included in negotiations between India and Pakistan. Once mutual accord is reached, the issue could be taken off from the United Nations agenda. Denouncing the status quo which could only prolong the settlement of the issue, the paper strongly advocates the solution of the dispute in the light of 20 point agenda put forth by the authors (Verghese & Kumar, 2005).

Chapter 5

Violence, Victimisation and Family Disorganisation

5.1 Victims, perpetrators and the Space

The beginning of 1990's saw the onset of violence in valley, the gun yielding men started to fight for right to self determination and subsequent freedom from the India to establish a separate Kashmiri nation. The militants earlier enjoyed a popular support and people were very enthusiastic about the prospect of getting freedom. It appeared that freedom was just round the corner and there were men, women and children protesting in the streets of Kashmir. The euphoria died soon when the movement had to face the military might of India. The tables 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 and Table 5.4 show the comparison between the earlier and the present situation.

Table 5.1
Popular Support to Militants Earlier

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Yes	236	94.4	94.4
No	14	5.6	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.2
Popular support to militants at present

Response	Frequency	Actual percent	Total sample Percent	Cumulative percent
Strongly agree	29	12.29	11.6	12.29
Agree	61	25.85	24.4	38.14
Undecided	48	20.34	19.2	58.48
Disagree	74	31.35	29.6	89.83
Strongly disagree	24	10.17	9.6	100.0
Total	236	100.0	94.4	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.1 indicates that out of total 250 respondents 236 (94.4%) are of the opinion that militants earlier enjoyed the popular support, but Table 5.2 clearly shows that the support which militants enjoyed has declined now. Out of the total

250 respondents only 236 respondents are of the opinion that militants enjoyed popular support earlier, therefore, responses of only 236 respondents have been included in this Table. The actual percent column shows percentage responses of the 236 respondents and the total sample column shows percentage responses of the total sample size of 250 respondents. Out of the 236 respondents, 29 respondents (12.29%) strongly agree with the statement that militants enjoy popular support even now, which adds up to 11.6% of the total sample percentage, 61 (25.85 %) agree that militants still enjoy popular support and that amounts to 24.4% of the total sample percent, 48 (20.34%) are undecided on the issue and that adds up to 19.2% of the total sample percentage. Majority of respondents 74 (31.35%) disagree with the proposition that militants enjoy popular support now which amounts to 29.6% of the total sample size. 24 respondents (10.17%) strongly disagree with the statement and makeup 9.6% of the total sample percentage.

The reason for this decline in public support to militants is possibly because earlier the militants used to be following certain principles and were goal oriented but with passing time certain unscrupulous elements joined militant ranks and the discipline vanished. The new cadre used gun as means to certain ends and as a result public support to militants declined a lot. The other reason for this development is the long phase of violence which the people have witnessed, it was thought that the *Azadi* (freedom) from Indian control is just a matter of few months, but it took so long that certain mistrust crept into the movement and people started to look for peace than for freedom. But if we see the cumulative percentage of the Table 5.2, 38.14% respondents still agree that militants enjoy

public support even now and 41.52% disagree with the same, the difference seems to be less but still it is a decline. Therefore, we can conclude the situation has changed from all out support to militants to a limited and mixed support.

Table 5.3
People's perception of struggle at the beginning

Perception	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Freedom struggle	173	69.2	69.2
Struggle to join Pakistan	52	20.8	90.0
Illogical struggle, vested interest of few	11	4.4	94.4
Unjustified, Kashmiri were happy with India	9	3.6	98.0
Revolution to change power structure	5	2.0	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.4
People's perception of struggle at present

Perception	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Freedom struggle which ought to reach its end	96	38.4	38.4
Religious struggle	12	4.8	43.2
Anarchy(Indo-Pak conflict)	63	25.2	68.4
Vested interest of few	52	20.8	89.2
War machine for army to mint money	27	10.8	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

At the start of the movement people were whole heartedly with the movement and considered it as a freedom struggle from India as is evident from Table 5.3. 173 (69.2%) of respondents believe that the movement was a

freedom struggle and 52 (20.8%) of respondents are of the opinion that it was struggle to join Pakistan, the reason being Pakistan is a Muslim majority state and so is Kashmir. But at present we can infer from Table 5.4 that majority 96 (38.4%) of respondents still believe that the struggle is for freedom, 63 (25.2%) believe it to be just a political conflict between India and Pakistan where kashmiris have become scapegoats and another 52 (20.8%) of respondents believe it to be vested interest of few people whether it is mainstream politicians, militant ranks, army ranks or intelligence agencies to keep the guns blazing because they are making money out of it. The latter two developments are because of the long history of dirty politics being followed in the state. The people have become sick of the social conditions prevailing in the valley, longing for peace. Secondly people have moved out of the state and are witnessing progress in every sector and looking back at the valley state of affairs, they feel dejected. But still for the blood that has been shed and coloured the soil of valley majority feel that the final solution should be the freedom or complete independence.

The valley has seen ruthless victimization of people; the people have been subjected to violence irrespective of gender, age and location. The questions which need to be answered are who is the victim? What is the form of violence? Where is the victim victimised? Who is the perpetrator? The tables 5.5, 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8 show the victimization of people with respect to suitable variables.

Table 5.5
Victimization by violence

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Yes	195	78.0	78.0
No	55	22.0	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.6
Victimization with respect to age

Age	Yes	%	No	%	Total
Lower age group= 18 to 25	82	76.6	25	23.4	107
Middle age group=26 to 35	74	82.2	16	17.8	90
Upper age group= 36 and above	39	73.6	14	26.4	53
Total	195	78.0	55	22.0	250

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.7
Victimization with respect to gender

Gender	Yes	%	No	%	Total
Male	117	76.5	36	23.5	153
Female	78	80.4	19	19.6	97
Total	195	78.0	55	22.0	250

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.5 shows that 195 (78%) of respondents have been direct victims of violence in one or the other form and 55 (22%) denied to have been the victims of violence directly.

Further cross tabulating the above responses with the age of respondents in Table 5.6, it is found that of the total 107 respondents from Lower age group, 82 (76.6%) respondents accept the fact that they have been victimized and 25 (23.4%)

deny having been victimised ever. Similarly of the total 90 respondents from Middle age group, 74 (82.2%) accept that they have been victimised in the ongoing violence and 16 (17.8%) deny having been victimised ever. Lastly out of the total 53 respondents from Upper age group, 39 (73.6%) accept that they have been victimised during these years of violence and 14 (26.4%) deny having been victimised ever.

We can observe from the table that highest percentage of victims comes from the Middle age group 82.2% respondents from the group, reason being that the particular age group has faced the wrath of violence most being in the prime of youth at the time the conflict started. They suffered at the hands of various agencies involved in violence, but if we see the statistics the other two groups are no less affected, in the Lower age group (the present youth) 76.6% respondents come out to be victims of violence and in the Upper age group 73.6% respondents are the victims of violence. The fact becomes clear that the majority of people irrespective of the age group they belong to have been victimised by various agencies or parties involved in violence at one or the other point in these years of violence.

Table 5.7 shows cross tabulation of the victimization of respondents with respect to gender, it becomes clear that out of the total 153 male respondents 117 (76.5%) accept being victims of violence and 36 (23.5%) deny being victimised ever. Similarly out of total 97 female respondents 78 (80.4%) accept being victims of violence and 19 (19.6%) deny the fact. This clearly indicates the gendered bias of violence, 80.4% female respondents compared to 76.5% male respondents are the victims of violence. The women are soft targets during conflict situations and

are an easy prey for various agencies involved in violence. The violence against women ranges from a mere verbal abuse to rape in extreme circumstances. The women happen to be indirect victims too when their sons, brothers, husbands and fathers happen to be victims of violence. Therefore, the females happen to be doubly affected by violence both directly and indirectly. But still the statistics show both majority of male and female respondents being victims of violence, indicating the all encompassing specter of violence in conflict situations.

Table 5.8
Victimization with respect to location

Location	Yes	%	No	%	Total
Rural	117	82.25	27	18.75	144
Urban	78	73.6	28	26.4	106
Total	195	78.0	55	22.0	250

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.8 shows cross tabulation between victimization of respondents and the location of respondents. Out of total 144 rural respondents, 117 (82.25%) accept being victims of violence and 27 (18.75%) deny being victims of violence. Similarly among total of 106 urban respondents 78 (73.6%) accept to be victims of violence and at the same time 28 (26.4%) deny the fact of being the victims of violence.

It becomes clear from the Table that compared to 82.25% of respondents from rural areas only 73.6% of respondents from urban areas have been the victims of violence. There is a clear manifestation of the spatial distribution of violence, rural space happens to be more prone to violence where people cease to be identified as complete citizens. As citizenship is generally thought to comprise

several elements, including identity, belonging, status, rights and responsibilities, that produce what T.H.Marshall considers the acceptance of a person as a full member of a given society (Marshall, 1973). Lynch further points out citizenship is “a proposal of equality according to which all members of the same political community enjoy the same rights and thus the same citizen status” (Lynch, 1997:126). The rural people are subjected to blatant violence of human rights on the account of denial of their basic rights compared to urban population. The reason behind this trend may be the better accountability of various agencies in the urban setting where both electronic and print media report even a minor incident of violence. Secondly the urban areas happen to be administrative headquarters so the chances of human rights abuses are less there so that law and order is maintained. It becomes clear from the major incidents of violence that have happened in valley took place in rural areas. For example Chattisingpora massacre, where 35 Sikhs were butchered to death and Kunanposhpora incident where a mass rape of innocent Kashmiri women took place.

The results of above tables are justified by case studies too; in most of the cases both males and females irrespective of age and location happen to be victims of violence. The case of Joginder Singh from Chattisingpora who is an old man has witnessed the death of his two brothers; Narendra Kaur from Chattisingpora is another example of suffering of widowhood by a middle aged woman. The cases of Shakeela Akhter from Kaladrang and Shakeela Bano from Katreteng are cases of other widows who happen to have been victimised in their young age and now in their middle age. The case of Gowher who along with other children has been orphaned in young age is another example. The gang rape of Mubeena Akhter who

was raped on the day of her marriage on the way to her in-laws house is another example of gender specific violence. Most of these cases happen to have occurred in rural space. The villages of Kashmir are witness to the grave violation of human rights violations, like the villages of Nadimarg and Chattisingpora where innocent Kashmiris were massacred inhumanly.

The findings of tables 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8 have been further elaborated in the subsequent tables. The people have been subjected to different forms of violence by various agencies; table 5.9 shows different forms of violence and the responses of respondents against each category of violence.

Table 5.9
Forms of violence

Form of violence	Yes	Actual %age	Total sample %age	No	Actual %age	Total sample %age	Total
Interrogation	54	27.7	21.6	141	72.3	56.4	195
Torture	67	34.4	26.8	128	65.6	51.2	195
Outraging modesty	25	12.8	10	170	87.2	68	195
Rape	8	4.1	3.2	187	95.9	74.8	195
Physical abuse	102	52.3	40.8	93	47.7	37.2	195
Threat	154	79.0	61.6	41	21.0	16.4	195
Emotional suffering	171	87.7	68.4	24	12.3	9.6	195

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

As can be inferred from table 5.5 only 195 respondents have been victims of violence in any form out of 250. Table 5.9 shows the responses of respondents to different forms of violence. The total sample percent column shows percentage responses out of the total sample size of 250 respondents and the actual percent column shows the percentage responses of valid 195 respondents who have been included in this table. Out of 195 respondents 54 (27.7%) report to have been

interrogated, while as 141 (72.3%) deny to have been subjected to interrogation. Out of 195 respondents 67 (34.4%) report to have been tortured and 128 (65.6%) deny having been tortured. 25 (12.8%) respondents report of outraged modesty and 170 (87.2%) deny this fact out of total 195 respondents. Similarly only 8 respondents (4.1%) report to have been raped and 187 (95.9%) deny this statement out of 195 respondents. 102 (52.3%) report of physical abuse and 93 (47.7%) deny of being physically abused out of 195 respondents. Again 154 (79%) respondents report of having been threatened and 41 (21%) report not to have been threatened out of 195 respondents. 171 (87.7%) have emotionally suffered and 24 (12.3%) deny this fact out of 195 respondents. From the Table we can point out that victims have been mostly subjected to emotional suffering (87.7%), followed by threat (79%), physical abuse (52.3%), followed by torture (34.4%), interrogation (27.7%), the least reported forms of violence are outraging of modesty (12.8%) and rape (4.1%).

Further Table 5.10 shows cross tabulation of forms of violence which the respondents were subjected to with respect to different age groups. The table contains responses of only 195 respondents who report to have been victims of violence in any form. There are 107 respondents from Lower age group, 90 respondents from Middle age group and 53 respondents from the Upper age group constituting the whole sample population of 250 respondents. Out of the 107 respondents in the Lower age group only 82 have been included and rest 25 report not to have been subjected to violence. 19 respondents (23.17%) from the group

Table 5.10
Forms of violence with respect to age

Forms of violence	Age group											
	Lower age group				Middle age group				Upper age group			
	Yes	%	No	%	Yes	%	No	%	Yes	%	No	%
Interrogation	19	23.17	63	76.83	21	28.38	53	71.62	14	35.90	25	64.10
Torture	25	30.49	57	69.51	25	33.78	49	66.22	17	43.59	22	56.41
Outraging modesty	10	12.19	72	87.81	9	12.16	65	87.84	6	15.38	33	84.62
Rape	0	0.00	82	100.00	3	4.05	71	95.95	5	12.82	34	87.18
Physical abuse	38	46.34	44	53.66	41	55.41	33	44.59	23	58.97	16	41.03
Threat	59	71.95	23	28.05	61	82.43	13	17.57	34	87.18	5	12.82
Emotional suffering	71	86.58	11	13.41	63	85.14	11	14.86	37	94.87	2	5.13
Total												

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

have been subjected to interrogation and 63 respondents (76.83%) deny so. 25 respondents (30.49%) from the group have been subjected to torture and 57 respondents (69.51%) deny so. 10 respondents (12.19%) from the group have been subjected to outraging of modesty and 72 respondents (87.81%) deny so. None of the respondents from the group have been subjected to rape. 38 respondents (46.34%) from the group have been subjected to physical abuse and 44 respondents (53.66%) deny so. 59 respondents (71.95%) from the group have been subjected to threat and 23 respondents (28.05%) deny so. 71 respondents (86.58%) from the group have been subjected to emotional suffering and 11 respondents (13.42%) deny so. In all the cases the responses of rest 25 respondents 23.36% of the total size of the Lower age group have not been included.

Out of the 90 respondents from the Middle age group, 74 respondents have been included in the Table and rest 16 does not report of being subjected to violence ever and thus left out. 21 respondents (28.38%) from the group have been subjected to interrogation and 53 respondents (71.62%) deny so. 25 respondents (33.78%) from the group have been subjected to torture and 49 respondents (66.22%) deny so. 9 respondents (12.16%) from the group have been subjected to outraging of modesty and 65 respondents (87.84%) deny so. 3 respondents (4.05%) from the group have been subjected to rape and 71 respondents (95.95%) deny so. 41 respondents (55.41%) from the group have been subjected to physical abuse and 33 respondents (44.59%) deny so. 61 respondents (82.43%) from the group have been subjected to threat and 13 respondents (17.57%) deny so. 63 respondents (85.14%) from the group have been subjected to emotional suffering

and 11 respondents (14.86%) deny so. In all the cases the responses of rest 16 respondents 17.78% of the total size of Middle age group have not been included.

Out of the 53 respondents from the Upper age group, 39 respondents have been included in the table and rest 14 do not report of being subjected to violence ever and thus left out. 14 respondents (35.90%) from the group have been subjected to interrogation and 25 respondents (64.10%) deny so. 17 respondents (43.59%) from the group have been subjected to torture and 22 respondents (56.41%) deny so. 6 respondents (15.38%) from the group have been subjected to outraging of modesty and 33 respondents (84.62%) deny so. 5 respondents (12.82%) from the group have been subjected to rape and 34 respondents (87.18%) deny so. 23 respondents (58.97%) from the group have been subjected to physical abuse and 16 respondents (41.03%) deny so. 34 respondents (87.18%) from the group have been subjected to threat and 5 respondents (12.82%) deny so. 37 respondents (94.87%) from the group have been subjected to emotional suffering and 2 respondents (5.13%) deny so. In all the cases the responses of rest 14 respondents 26.42% of the total size of the Upper age group have not been included.

The table indicates the increasing order of suffering from Lower, Middle to Upper age groups in all the cases. In every form of violence Upper age group scores more than the Middle age group followed by Lower age group. The things are clear, at the start of conflict the Upper age group was in their middle age and the middle age group had either entered their youth or at the threshold of youth. These two groups have witnessed the worst phase of violence. They have suffered in every form and the impact was more on these two groups also as both the

groups had grown up in peaceful times, they would compare their nostalgic gone by days with present condition and hence appear to be the worst sufferers in threat and emotional suffering. The death, torture, interrogation, physical abuse and even rape victims are mostly from the Upper age group because they have bore the brunt of worst phase of violence in the valley when even Police had lost its authority to the troops. The valley was under the siege of army who acted on their own without caring for any human rights violations. There was no one who could come to the help of hapless masses. The second phase of violence started after 1996 when certain break away factions of militants were employed by the Govt. to help in counter insurgency operations. This wave of violence took its toll on the Middle age group who happened to be in the prime of their youth at the time. The beating, torture and detention were a common practice resorted to by the forces and insurgents in those days. Even money was demanded by counter insurgents from the families whose men were detained for their release. This again brought the sufferings ultimately on the Upper age group who suffered the pain of separation of their sons, abuse of their daughters and daughter-in-laws, the security of children of the family. The result was fear, threat and emotional suffering. The respondents were reluctant to report cases of rape, and no police cases have been registered in most of the cases. Women have suffered this violence silently owing to certain social stigma involved in reporting the cases. Sometimes reporting resulted in lifelong spinsterhood, because no one was ready to marry a victim of rape, in certain cases it led to divorce or victims would go for suicide. So it may be concluded that the worst sufferers are the upper and Middle

age group followed by Lower age group but on the whole all the groups have suffered.

The results can be justified by suitable case studies, like the case of 62 year old Jana from Kulgam whose two young bachelor sons lost life in conflict, but the pain has to be suffered by her who almost dies daily in her never ending pain. The case of 70 year old Habibullah Mir from Dialgam whose three houses and son got lost in the conflict and he has to fend for the orphaned children of his son. The case of 42 year old Mubeena Akhter from Lissar village is another sordid tale of a gang rape victim which still haunts this lady. There are also cases from middle and lower age group who have suffered in violence like Grand children of Habibullah Mir, 23 year old Gowher from Mattan who lost her father, 32 year old Shakeela Akhter from kaladrang village who is widow. Therefore different age groups happen to have suffered in conflict but the upper age group happen to have suffered most and in multiple ways.

Table 5.11 shows cross tabulation of forms of violence which the respondents were subjected to with respect to location. The total sample population comprises of 144 rural respondents and 106 urban respondents. In the table the responses of 117 respondents from rural area and 78 respondents from urban area have been recorded, the remaining 27 rural respondents and 28 urban respondents have not opted to answer. The percentages of the responses have been calculated from 117 and 78 respondents in rural and urban categories respectively. 40 (34.19%) respondents from Rural area compared to 14 (17.95%) from Urban area report to have been interrogated. 49 (41.88%) and 18 (23.08%) respondents

from rural and urban areas report of torture respectively. 19 respondents (16.24%) from rural area report of outraged modesty and 6 (7.69%) report so in urban area.

Table 5.11
Forms of violence with respect to location

	Location								
Forms of violence	Rural				Urban				Total
	Yes	%	No	%	Yes	%	No	%	
Interrogation	40	34.19	77	65.81	14	17.95	64	82.05	195
Torture	49	41.88	68	58.12	18	23.08	60	76.92	195
Outraging modesty	19	16.24	98	83.76	6	7.69	72	92.31	195
Rape	5	4.27	112	95.73	3	3.85	75	96.15	195
Physical abuse	64	54.70	53	45.30	38	48.72	40	51.28	195
Threat	96	82.05	21	17.95	58	74.35	20	15.65	195
Emotional suffering	105	89.74	12	10.26	66	84.62	12	15.38	195

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

There are 5 victims of rape (4.27%) among rural respondents compared to 3 (3.85%) in Urban area. 64 (54.70%) respondents have been physically abused in rural area compared to 38 (48.72%) in urban area. 96 (82.05%) respondents feel threatened in rural area compared to 58 (74.35%) in urban area. 105 (89.74%) respondents in rural area have suffered emotionally compared to 66 (84.62%) in urban area.

We can infer from the table that there is a significant difference between rural and urban areas in terms of different forms of violence they have faced or were subjected to. It is a clear case of spatial distribution of violence, where rural people often become soft targets of violence. The rural areas have been the resting grounds of militants and hunting grounds for the Govt. forces, the two parties involved in violence. The urban areas appear to be difficult for militants to hide

and act, so they prefer to be in rural areas. The Govt. forces often cordon these areas to flush out militants and in the process use force on local people. The urban areas appear to be the action grounds for militants involved in guerrilla warfare as it is easier for them to get away from the area after carrying out the attacks. The result is that the troops often give vent to their anger on locals of the area, beating, torturing, and interrogating them. The rural areas mostly are subjected to searches and cordons and in case some encounter takes place, it may result in a variety of abuses of the local population ranging from verbal abuse, physical abuse to interrogation, torture and loosing of honour of young women and girls in extreme cases. Sometimes even a mere false information leads to brutal search operations in the rural areas, where security forces act at will abusing the poor villagers in every form they wish. These incidents often go unreported or if reported are often being left unaddressed. The cycle of violence continues and violence becomes the order of the day and not an anomie. The result is that rural people feel most threatened and vulnerable in certain cases both physically and emotionally and hence feel the brunt of violence more than the urban populace often frequently and violently.

The case studies justify the above results, because most of the victims in case studies are worst sufferers like widows, rape victims, interrogation victims and orphaned children happen to be from villages. Though it is also true that such cases have happened in urban localities too like case of Parveena Akhter from Kulgam and Nuzhat from Anantnag, but the severity and recurrence is more felt in rural areas. The cases of Shakeela Akhter and Mubeena Akhter bear the

testimonies of fear and threat rural women feel even in their households especially at night.

Table 5.12
Forms of violence with respect to gender

	Gender								
Forms of violence	Male				Female				Total
	Yes	%	No	%	Yes	%	No	%	
Interrogation	43	36.75	74	63.25	11	14.10	67	85.90	195
Torture	49	41.88	68	58.12	18	23.08	60	76.92	195
Outraging modesty	6	5.13	111	94.87	19	24.36	59	75.64	195
Rape	0	0.00	117	100.00	8	10.26	70	89.74	195
Physical abuse	68	58.12	49	41.88	34	43.59	44	56.41	195
Threat	89	76.07	28	23.93	65	83.33	13	16.67	195
Emotional suffering	99	84.62	18	15.38	72	92.31	6	7.69	195

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.12 shows cross tabulation of forms of violence which the respondents were subjected to with respect to gender. The total sample size comprises of 153 male respondents and 97 female respondents. Out of these the responses 117 male respondents and 78 female respondents who report of being subjected to any form of violence have been recorded and the responses of 38 respondents and 19 respondents from male and female categories have been therefore left out respectively. The percentage has been calculated from the total of 117 respondents in male category and 78 respondents from female category. As can be concluded from the Table 43 (36.75%) respondents among males have been interrogated while 74 (63.25%) deny this statement, in case of females 11 (14.10%) respondents accept to have been interrogated by some agency and 67

(85.90%) deny this charge. 49 (41.88%) respondents among male have been tortured and 68 (58.12%) deny this statement, among females 18 (23.08%) report of torture and 60 (76.92%) deny this statement. Only 6 male respondents (5.13%) compared to 19 female respondents (24.36%) who report of outraged modesty while 111 (94.87%) and 59 (75.64%) deny this form of violence among males and females respectively of the total 195 respondents who report of violence. 8 female respondents (10.26%) report to have been raped, while 72 (89.74%) deny this statement. 68 male respondents (58.12%) have been physically abused and 49 (41.88%) deny this statement, in case of female respondents 34 (43.59%) report of physical abuse and 44 (56.41%) deny this charge. 89 (76.07%) males feel to be threatened by violence and 28 (23.93%) do not feel so, similarly in female respondents 65 (83.33%) feel threatened by the violence and 13 (16.67%) do not feel so. 99 (84.62%) male respondents have suffered emotionally due to violence and 18 (15.38%) do not feel so, while 72 (92.31%) among female respondents have suffered emotionally due to violence and 6 (7.69%) females do not feel so.

It appears from the table that violence has been gender specific. The table shows that men have suffered more on the counts of interrogation, torture and physical abuse, but the women have suffered a little less on these counts. The women happen to have suffered more being subjected to threat, emotional suffering and rape while as men score low in these categories. Although both categories have suffered no less than the other but the table clearly reveals agonies of women who have suffered of a certain gender specific violence like threat, emotional suffering, outraging modesty and rape, although rape incidents are not reported often because of social stigma associated with it. Women bear the brunt

of frustrated armed men, sometimes molested in front of their kith and kin. The result is women feel to be threatened by violence most and suffer emotionally as well, more than males, because they are doubly affected by violence either directly when they are themselves the target of violence or when their men and children happen to be targets of violence. This is because a woman happens to be a daughter, a sister, a mother, a wife who faces violence from multiple corners.

The tables clearly show that the violence shows variations in terms of age, gender and location of the respondents. The upper and middle age group appears to be affected more, the rural population is again more prone to violence owing to their spatial location and there is gender specific violence, where certain forms of violence are employed against the particular gender. The case studies also justify the above findings, like the case of Joginder Singh and Habibullah Mir who happen to be the sufferers of violence even now, Joginder singh has witnessed the multiple funerals in his house and Mir on his part lost his sons, property and has to look for the children of his deceased son even now. Almost all the cases that have been selected show that the place where ruthless brutalization of the victim took place has been the rural space. The case of Jana whose son Yaqoob was killed brutally, the case of Gowher and her sisters are just examples. The violence has taken its toll everywhere but the rural space has been the ideal location for the violence to raise its head. The violence happens to be gender specific, certain forms of violence like rape and molestation are aimed at the females, take the case of Mubeena and her aunt who were raped on the day of former's marriage. The violence is masculinised and women just become symbols where their bodies are used to inflict pain on the opposite group, because women happen to be symbols

of honour in a patriarchal society like Kashmir. The violence against women has been used as a tactics to bring down the moral of the opposite group elsewhere in the world in numerous armed conflicts.

Having established the victims and forms of violence, the next task is who the perpetrator is? The main agencies involved in violence appear to be Police, Security forces, Renegades and Militants. The tables below show the various agencies involved in violence and their share of violence against people as per respondents view. The results have been further elaborated following cross tabulation technique.

Table 5.13 shows respondents view towards various agencies that have been responsible for inflicting violence upon them. Out of the total 250 sample size only 195 respondents reported to have been subjected to different forms of violence by various agencies, therefore, only their responses have been considered for calculation. The actual percentage shows the percentage among 195 respondents who have been subjected to violence and total sample percent depicts the percentage of the total sample size of 250. Out of the total 195 respondents subjected to violence 35 (17.9%) report to have been subjected to violence by militants and 160 (82.1%) deny to have been subjected to violence by militants, which happens to be 14% and 64% of the total sample size of 250 respectively. 136 (69.7%) respondents have been subjected to violence by paramilitary forces and 59 (30.3%) deny this statement. Curiously 167 respondents (85.6%) report to have been subjected to violence by military and only 28 (14.4%) deny this statement. 80 respondents (41%) have been subjected to violence by Police and Special Task Force of Police for countering militancy and 115 (59%) deny this

statement. Only 16 (8.2%) of respondents charge any intelligence agency of inflicting violence upon them and 179 (91.8) negate this charge. 95 (48.7%) respondents charge Pro-Govt. fighters (militia) of inflicting violence upon them and 100 (51.3%) deny this charge.

Table 5.13
Violence inflicting agency

Agency	Yes	Actual %age	Total sample %age	No	Actual %age	Total sample %age	Total
Militants	35	17.9	14.0	160	82.1	64.0	195
Paramilitary forces	136	69.7	54.4	59	30.3	23.6	195
Military	167	85.6	66.8	28	14.4	11.2	195
Police/ STF	80	41.0	32.0	115	59.0	46.0	195
Intelligence agencies	16	8.2	6.4	179	91.8	71.6	195
Pro-government fighters	95	48.7	38.0	100	51.3	40.0	195

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

It becomes clear that the agency which has been mostly responsible for violence against people is the military (85.6% respondents feel so) which includes both Regular Army and BSF mostly involved in counter militancy operations in the valley, followed by Paramilitary forces who active in the state throughout the turmoil and after 2006 they have taken full charge of anti insurgency operations, Pro-Government Militia (48.7% respondents feel so) which was used as a main tool to counter insurgency in late nineties by the government, they were given a stipend of Rs.1500 per month and given a free hand to kill and act above law in most of the cases. The next agency responsible for violence against people is the Police/STF (41% respondents feel so), it has been mostly Special Task Force of the police to counter insurgency responsible for violence against people, they

could act in any region without informing the local police or administration as a result they were having least accountability. The militants earlier happened to be principled but later on some unscrupulous elements and foreign mercenaries made way into the militant ranks and they took part in violence against people but mostly against families of Pro-Government Militia, political activists, civil servants, informers and in effect affecting other members of the family too. The agency least involved in violence is intelligence agencies, it is because only in rare cases they become operational to commit violence and mostly their activities are centered around gathering information.

Table 5.14
Agency violence with respect to location

Agency	Location								Total
	Rural				Urban				
	Yes	%	No	%	Yes	%	No	%	
Militants	22	18.80	95	81.20	13	16.67	65	83.33	195
Paramilitary forces	77	65.81	40	34.19	59	75.64	19	24.36	195
Military	105	89.74	12	10.26	62	79.49	16	20.51	195
Police/ STF	53	45.30	64	54.70	27	34.62	51	65.38	195
Intelligence agencies	10	8.55	107	91.45	6	7.69	72	92.31	195
Pro-government fighters	63	53.85	54	46.15	32	41.03	46	58.97	195

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.14 shows cross tabulation between agencies involved in violence with respect to location of respondents. Since only 195 respondents out of total 250 sample size agree to be the victims of violence, so the table is evaluating the responses of only 195 respondents out of the total sample size of 250. The total sample size comprises of 144 rural respondents and 97 urban respondents, out of these the table contains responses of 117 rural respondents and 78 urban

respondents, therefore the percentage have been calculated from the respective number of respondents in both the categories. The remaining 27 rural respondents and 19 urban respondents have been left out because they don't report to have been subjected to violence. 22 (18.80%) rural respondents agree that they have been subjected to violence by militants and 95 (81.20%) disagree with it. At the same time 13 (16.67%) urban respondents agree to have been victimised by militants and 65 (83.33%) disagree with it. 77 (65.81%) of rural respondents agree to have been victimised by paramilitary forces and 40 (34.19%) deny so, while as 59 (75.64%) urban respondents agree to have been victimised by paramilitary forces and 19 (24.34%) respondents do not agree with the statement. 105 (89.74%) rural respondents agree to have been subjected to violence by Military and 12 (10.26%) disagree with the statement, while as 62 (79.49%) urban respondents agree to have been subjected to violence by Military and 16 respondents (20.51%) deny the same. 53 rural respondents (45.30%) compared to 27 urban respondents (34.62%) report of victimization by Police/STF, while 64 (54.70%) rural respondents and 51 (65.38%) urban respondents deny the same. 10 rural respondents (8.55%) compared to 6 respondents (7.69%) have been victims of intelligence agencies, while 107 rural respondents (91.45%) and 72 urban respondents (92.31%) deny the same. 63 rural respondents (53.85%) contrary to 32 urban respondents (41.03%) have been victimised by the Pro govt. forces and at the same time 54 rural respondents (46.15%) and 46 urban respondents (58.97%) do not report so.

The table shows that irrespective of the location the main violence inflicting agencies like paramilitary, military, STF and Pro-Govt. forces have

acted at will, at the same time it is quite evident that rural people happen to suffer more from every agency involved in violence. This is clear evidence of spatial injustice where rural people are denied equal citizenship rights than their urban counter parts. The most violent group appears to be the Military (Army and BSF) followed by Paramilitary forces and Pro-Govt. fighters in both rural and urban areas. The rural areas happen to be hiding and resting grounds for militants, but sometimes the militants get caught in surprise raids and cordons which leads to long drawn battles sometimes for days. The result is loss of the life and property, physical abuse, and use of excessive force by army on the villagers. The impunity provided by the special Laws like AFSPA give army men license to commit the worst form of human rights abuses. Similarly, militants feel free to move in villages and are involved brazen display of power and authority most often challenging village community elders. They happen to be uninvited guests at the dead of night who can result in the destruction of the entire household for only but a raid by the government security forces. It is routine for security forces especially Army to conduct cordons in villages, at the first light of the day men are ordered to sit outside without food and water at some open place in the village and house to house searches are carried out in a brutal way. If by default there is an encounter during cordon, the men are taken as human shields by army to combat militants. The houses get often raised during the ensuing battles resulting in hardships for the affected family. If there is loss on the part army, the wrath is faced by poor villagers resulting in killing and torture of youth and often resulting in the molestation and rape of women in extreme cases. The things become clear thus that irrespective of the locality the violence is ever present to affect the lives

of common man, but rural locality is more prone to violence by various agencies. And the use of force by various agencies involved in violence is area specific as well as situation specific and is employed often to crush the resistance.

Table 5.15 shows cross tabulation between the violence inflicting agency and gender. The total sample population of 250 comprises of 153 male respondents and 97 female respondents. The table contains responses of 117 male respondents and 78 female respondents who have reported of being subjected to violence by some agency, therefore, percentage is calculated from this much size of both the categories, the rest 36 male respondents and 19 female respondents have been left out. 26 male respondents (22.22%) compared to 9 female respondents (11.54%) have been subjected to violence by militants, while 91 male respondents (77.78%) and 69 female respondents (88.46%) deny the same. 89 male respondents (76.07%) and 47 female respondents (60.26%) have been victimised by paramilitary forces while as 28 male respondents (23.93%) and 31 female respondents (39.74%) do not report so. 101 male respondents (86.32%) and

Table 5.15
Agency violence with respect to gender

Agency	Location								Total
	Rural				Urban				
	Yes	%	No	%	Yes	%	No	%	
Militants	26	22.22	91	77.78	9	11.54	69	88.46	195
Paramilitary forces	89	76.07	28	23.93	47	60.26	31	39.74	195
Military	101	86.32	16	13.68	66	84.62	12	15.38	195
Police/ STF	56	47.86	61	52.14	24	30.77	54	69.23	195
Intelligence agencies	8	6.84	109	93.16	8	10.26	70	89.74	195
Pro-government fighters	64	54.70	53	45.30	31	39.74	47	60.26	195

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

66 female respondents (84.62%) have been victimised by Military while as 16 male respondents (13.68%) and 12 female respondents (15.38%) do not report so. 56 male respondents (47.86%) and 24 female respondents (30.77%) have been victimised by Police/STF while as 61 male respondents (52.14%) and 54 female respondents (69.23%) deny the same. 8 male respondents (6.84%) and 8 female respondents (10.26%) have been victimised by intelligence agencies while as 109 male respondents (93.16%) and 70 female respondents (89.74%) do not report so. 64 male respondents (54.70%) and 31 female respondents (39.74%) have been victimised by Pro-Government fighters while as 53 male respondents (45.30%) and 47 female respondents (60.20%) do not report so.

The table shows that like gender specific forms of violence (Table 5.12) the agencies have been gender specific in their operations. Leaving aside militants who respondents report to have resorted to least violence on them, all agencies have acted irrespective of gender considerations targeting both men and women, but the men have been targeted more. The men score more on every count except in case of intelligence agencies, where women score more, the Military scores almost same to be a violent agency in both the gender categories. The intelligence agencies have been quite anonymous during most of the conflict, but it appears that they have been gathering information from women more, in the process sometimes drilling them up or exploiting them emotionally. The Military has been ruthless and violent in most of the operations and activities; it has targeted both men and women with equal intensity but with varying degrees and forms. The Militants, Paramilitary. Police/STF and Ikhwan (pro-Govt. fighters) have targeted men more. Therefore, it can be concluded that men have been the major targets of

the various agencies involved in violence, but that too affects a woman who happens to be a wife, a daughter, a sister, a mother of the affected person.

The case studies substantiate the above findings. The women happen to be victimised on the counts of rape and molestation like the case of Mubeena Akhter of Lissar village being gang raped along with her aunt on the first night of her marriage when she was heading for her in-laws home. But in majority of cases women happen to be indirect be it widows like Parveena Akhter of Kulgam, Shakeela Akhter of Kaladrang village, Shakeela Bano of Katreteng village, be it mothers like Jana of Kulgam who lost her two young sons, Jawahira of Bhan village who lost her son and the sole earning member of family who was married only 9 months back or be it orphaned children like Gowher of Mattan who lost her father in conflict or the grand children of Habibullah Mir who still miss and remember their slain father. Incidentally most of these victims happen to be from rural areas, that does not mean that urban areas are secure but urban quarters happen to be less prone to different violent acts by various agencies. The agency involved in violence in almost all the cases happens to be army, paramilitary or Ikhwanis thus proving the findings of above tables.

5.2 Violence, loss and functioning of the family

After the perpetrators are established next step is to identify the locations prone to violence. Violence has hit almost every household with different intensity, there have been families who have been completely wiped out, some have suffered economic losses and some others have suffered human losses and still there are other families who have suffered both loss of life and monetarily. Although valley as a whole has been on the boil, the respondents were asked to

identify the places which they think are more prone to violence, the findings are recorded in table 5.16 below.

Table 5.16
Commonest place of violence as per respondents view

Place	Yes	%	No	%	Total
Encounter sites	230	92.0	20	8.0	250
Cordons	196	78.4	54	21.6	250
Army camps	192	76.8	58	23.2	250
Militant strong holds	50	20.0	200	80.0	250
Ikhwan camps	156	62.4	94	37.6	250
Villages	149	59.6	101	40.4	250
City Centers	32	12.8	218	87.2	250

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.16 shows respondents view regarding the place which is most prone to violence. It can be implied from the Table that out of the total sample size of 250 respondents, 230 (92%) of respondents agree that encounter sites, where the opposing forces are involved in combat happen to be the commonest places where people are being subjected to violence and only 20 (8%) respondents disagree with the same. Again 196 (78.4%) respondents agree with cordons to be the commonest place of violence and 54 (21.6%) disagree with this preposition. 192 (76.8%) respondents agree with Army camps to be the place where people are victimised often and 58 (23.2%) disagree with the same. Only 50 (20%) respondents agree that militant strongholds where militants have a say in almost every matter are the commonest places where people face violence and 200 (80%) disagree with it. 156 (62.4%) respondents agree with Ikhwan (Pro-Govt. Fighters) camps to be the commonest place of violence and 94 (37.6%) disagree with the same. 149 (59.6%) agree with villages to be the commonest place of violence while

101 (40.4%) show disagreement with it. Similarly 32 (12.8%) respondents believe city centers to be the commonest place of violence and curiously 218 (87.2%) disagree with city centers to be the place where people are subjected to violence often.

The table clearly shows that in descending order the places where people are often subjected to violence are encounter sites, followed by cordons, army camps, Ikhwan camps, villages, militant strongholds and city centers. The table seems to be in agreement with table 5.12 above which shows Military and other government forces to be the agencies mostly involved in violence against the people. The encounter sites are the places where people are mostly hit by violence because the chances of loss of life and property are most at these places either at the hands of militants or at the hands of government forces. But, the worst part is that people are often harassed, brutally tortured or killed after the gun battle by government forces mostly by army. They run berserk beating people in frustration and sometimes molesting or raping women and wounding even children with rods and gun butts. The encounter sites also happen to be the places where government forces have resorted to looting valuables and burning houses using gun powder or sometimes flattening houses with IEDs (Improvised Explosive Devices) to flush out militants hiding inside. The government forces (Army in particular) have been also engaged in cordoning off various areas mostly villages, small towns or a particular area of city on the specific inputs of militant activity. During cordons men and adolescent boys are made to get assembled at some open place, where they are made to sit for hours. At times they are questioned and beaten up in the process or sometimes whisked away to army camps where they are tortured and

interrogated. The women are allowed to remain in houses during cordons and in house to house searches the uniformed men often find it easy either to molest or rape women; such cases of brutality mostly happen in villages and mostly go unreported. The army camps are often located on road sides connecting villages and towns, people are subjected to brisk frisking at these places and women are subjected to eve teasing often. On a mere suspicion any one can be detained by army men. Inside army camps the arrested men either having any connection to militancy or arrested on suspicion are inhumanly treated and tortured. There have been cases where even girls have been arrested and kept in detention inside these army camps. Like army camps the Ikhwan camps are the places of harassment of people particularly gentlemen, the Pro- Government forces who earlier happened to be militants earlier were given unlimited and unrestricted powers, they used it more to harass and frustrate common people and make money and kill anybody at ease. There camps used to be called slaughter houses where the blood of men used to flow in drains. They mostly targeted members of Jamaat-e-Islami, families of Hizbul mujahidin militants, surrendered militants and moneyed men. The villages have been more prone to violence than cities because of less accountability of forces, absence of media and inaccessibility. Compared to villages the city people always showed resistance to every violation of rights which rural people could not because their shouts hardly reached to the authorities or agencies involved in conflict resolution. The militant strongholds also happen to be the places of less violence because militants identify themselves with the local people, they are dependent on people for shelter and even clothing and food sometimes, so it is least likely they will commit violence against common man. But still militants act

against some government informer, Ikhwani, a politician etc, who also happen to be Kashmiris thus affecting a Kashmiri family, a Kashmiri household.

The people have been subjected to a variety of losses and deformities in the ongoing violence disrupting the normal functioning of the family and its affairs. The tables 5.17 and 5.18 below show the losses suffered by respondents.

Table 5.17
Loss in violence

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Yes	191	76.4	76.4
No	59	23.6	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.18
Form of loss suffered

Form of loss	Frequency	Total sample %	Actual %	Cumulative percent
Property	28	11.2	14.7	14.7
Life	69	27.6	36.1	50.8
Business	8	3.2	4.2	55.0
Property and life	47	18.8	24.6	79.6
Property, life and business	39	15.6	20.4	100.0
Total	191	76.4	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.17 shows that out of total sample size of 250 respondents 191 (76.4%) have suffered loss of either property or life or both and 59 (23.6%) respondents deny to have suffered any loss of life and property.

Table 5.18 shows respondents responses to various forms of loss they have suffered due to violence in their families. The Total sample percent column shows percentage of the total sample size of 250 respondents and Actual percent column shows percentage of the 191 respondents who reported to have suffered any loss

of life and property, the responses of the remaining 59 respondents went unreported in this case. 28 (14.7%) of respondents report of loss of property, which accounts for 11.2% of the total sample size of 250 respondents. Similarly 69 (36.1%) respondents reported of the loss of life which amounts to 27.6% of the total sample population. 8 respondents (4.2%) reported of loss of business which amounts to 3.2% of the total sample population. 47 respondents (24.6%) have suffered loss of both life and property which is 18.8% of total sample population. 39 respondents (20.4%) have suffered loss of life, property and business together which adds up to 15.6% of the total sample population. The 59 respondents (23.6% of the total sample population) denied to have suffered any loss.

The table clearly shows that respondents have mainly witnessed loss of life(36.1%) in their families during these years of violence, followed by loss of both life and property (24.6%), loss of life, property and business (20.4%), loss of property only (14.7%) and lastly followed by loss of business (4.2%). Although the loss of life appears to be most, it together with other forms of loss appear to have a cumulative effect. The reason for this trend may be the war like situation in these years of violence. Though violence manifested itself in every form but it was the common people who became the main receptors of violence, hence loss of life has been reported more. The loss mainly was in cross firings, bomb blasts, landmines, grenade attacks and surprise attacks of militants on government forces where the local people got caught in. It is pertinent to mention here that even if the cross fire involved killing of either militants or uniformed men (Police/STF) or Pro-Government fighters, they happened to be the Kashmiris first. The killing of informers, suspicious men and supporters of the government by militants also

added to the toll. Sometimes in gun battles the property of the common man got damaged and because of the disturbed state of affairs the business interests suffered a lot.

The case studies justify the above results where most of the respondents happen to have suffered the loss of life in the family. The case of Jana from Kulgam who lost her two sons, the case of Mushtaq Shah who gives an account of the family completely wiped out in conflict and Shakeela Bano's case who in a single night witnessed the killing of her husband and father in law.

Apart from the personal losses, people happen to witness the losses of the other members of the society. The violence has visited every locality of the valley disrupting the very order of the society and bringing in the instability. The most violent disruption has been the death of the member. The tables 5.19 and 5.20 highlight the loss of life suffered by the people according to the respondents view and further table 5.21 shows the status of the lost person of the family and therefore having differential impact in terms of the functioning of the family.

Table 5.19
Loss of life of people during violence

Respondents response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Yes	238	95.2	95.2
No	12	4.8	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.20
Cases known to respondents where people lost their lives

Cases known	Frequency	Total sample Percent	Actual percent
One	18	7.2	7.6
Two	25	10.0	10.5
Three	15	6.0	6.3
Several	169	67.6	71.0
Heard only	11	4.4	4.6
Total	238	95.2	100.0

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.19 shows that out of the total sample size of 250 respondents, 238 (95.2%) respondents know the cases where people have lost their lives in violence and only 12 (4.8%) deny the same. The table clearly is an indication of the extent of violence the people have witnessed, death being the extreme case.

Table 5.20 shows the number of cases known to respondents where people lost their lives. The total sample percent column shows the percentage with respect to whole sample size of 250 respondents and actual percent column shows the percentage with respect to 238 respondents who have witnessed people suffering loss of life, the remaining 12 respondents who haven't seen loss of life of people have been left out. 18 respondents (7.6%) know only 1 case each where people have lost their lives in violence which equals to the 7.2% of the whole sample size of 250. Similarly 25 respondents (10.5%) know 2 cases each of people losing their lives in violence which amounts to 10% of the total sample population of 250. 15 respondents (6.3%) know 3 cases where people have lost their lives which is 6% of total sample population. Majority of the respondents 169 (71%) know several cases where people have lost their lives and it happens to be 67.6% of total sample size. And lastly only 11 respondents (4.6%) have only heard of such violent incidents, which amount to 4.4% of the total sample size. As mentioned above for

12 respondents (4.8% of the whole sample population of 250 respondents) answers couldn't be recorded.

The table clearly justifies the findings of table 5.18 above; most of the respondents have knowledge of several incidents where people have lost their lives. The last 18 years of violence have hardly left any soul untouched who couldn't see the play of violence in the streets, markets and courtyards of houses in Kashmir. The case of Mushtaq Shah is a clear example in this regard who gives account of the family that perished in the violence and the house happens to be empty at present.

The next query which arises is who is the killed or deceased in the violence. The respondents were asked to point out the status of the deceased who lost the life either in family or known to them, the responses have been recorded in the following table.

Table 5.21
Status of deceased who lost life in violence.

Status of deceased	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Earning hand	171	68.4	68.4
Dependent youth	47	18.8	87.2
Old dependent	14	5.6	92.8
Juvenile	6	2.4	95.2
No loss	12	4.8	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.21 shows respondents view regarding the status of the deceased who lost their life in violence either from their family, relation, neighbourhood or 171 respondents (68.4%) report those deceased to be the earning hand of their families, 47 respondents (18.8%) report the deceased to be the dependent youth, 14 respondents (5.6%) put the deceased to be old dependent, 6 respondents (2.4%)

Fig. 5a: Graph showing status of deceased who lost life in violence.

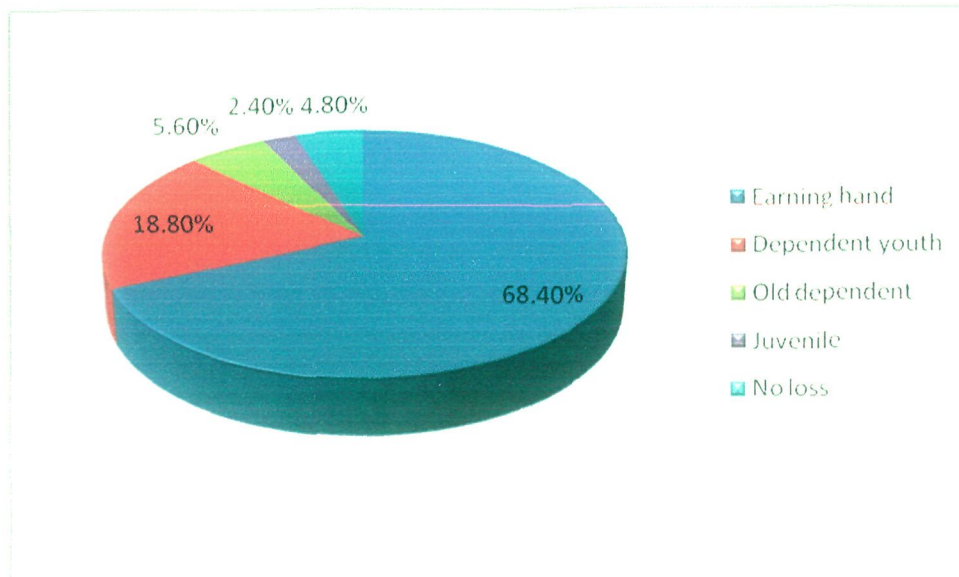
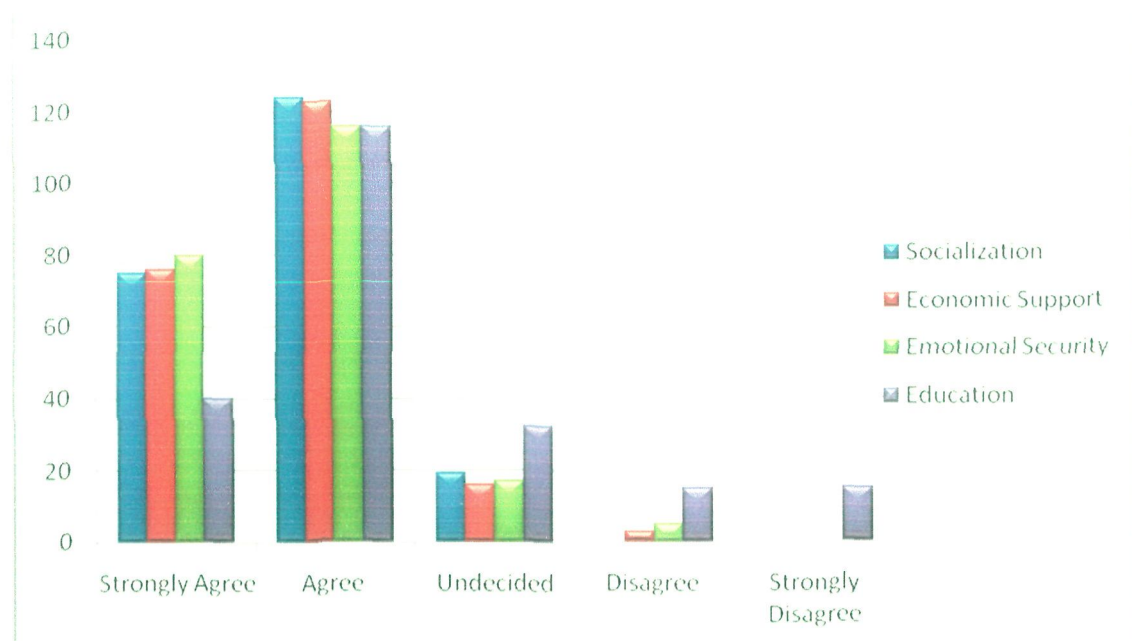


Fig. 5b: Graph showing effects of violence on functions of the family.



have put the deceased to be juvenile, while 12 respondents (4.8%) report no such loss in family, relation, neighbourhood and friendship. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 5a.

Table clearly shows that the majority of the people who have lost their lives are the earning hands of the family followed by dependent youth; this is because these two categories mostly remain outside the houses and become victims of violence most often. The old dependent and juveniles who remain indoors mostly are less prone to direct violence. The trend has direct bearing upon the economic function of the family and often such families witness role conflicts which is demeaning for the family as well as the society.

The status of the deceased is of the prime importance as far as the functioning of the family is concerned, the loss of certain members not only brings about the emotional disruption in the family but the worst disruption is the loss of the earning member of the family. It not only harms the emotional stability of the family, but also the economic stability of family which has severe repercussions for the surviving members. The fact is supported by many cases which bring to light the anatomy of the violence. The case of the Gowher and her family is an eye opener in this regard where family is suffering as the sole earning member of the family lost his life leaving the family in economic straits. The case of Jawahira Akhter is another example where loss of the earning member not only brought about economic hardships but also the undermining of the family authority. Besides having economic impact on the family, the loss of an earning member affects the educational attainment of the members too, as is evident in the both of the cases cited above, the Gowher who had a dream to make big someday couldn't

follow her ambition, she had to leave the education and started working to support the family and for Jawahira there are times when children don't get the required copy or pencil. There is almost every case showing the repercussions of violence on the educational attainment of the members. There are other cases in the list which highlight the repercussions of the loss of the earning member on the family as a unit and women as a category. The case of the Shakeela Akhter of Kaladrang where there is no surviving earning member in the family and she has to survive on the bare minimum which she receives from an NGO, the family as a whole and Shakeela in particular is a revealing example of the debasement of the family and the loss of identity of a woman. The other case is that of Shakeela Bano of Katreteng village, the family is living a life of poverty and frustration, family was even separated for the time being for the mere survival. Though Shakeela has managed to run the family for now, but with a cost of forgetting her identity and living in panick for the future and security of her children.

5.3 Violence and Family

Family functions

The violence has severely affected the normal functioning of the family. The process of socialization has been disrupted, the economic function has been undermined, educational prospects and the emotional security to the members have been defiled. The tables below show the effects of violence on the various functions of the family.

Table 5.22 shows the respondents view regarding the change in functions of the family. Out of the total sample size of 250 respondents, 218 are of the

opinion that basic functions of the family have been undermined and 32 respondents feel the contrary. The things get clarified further in table 5.23.

Table 5.22
Change in functions of family

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Yes	218	87.2	87.2
No	32	12.8	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.23
Effect of violence on Functions of the Family

Effect	Socialization		Economic support		Emotional security		Education	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Strongly Agree	75	34.4	76	34.9	80	36.7	40	18.3
Agree	124	56.9	123	56.4	116	53.2	116	53.2
Undecided	19	8.7	16	7.3	17	7.8	32	14.7
Disagree	-	-	3	1.4	5	2.3	15	6.9
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	6.9
Total	218	100.0	218	100.0	218	100.0	218	100.0

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.23 shows effect of violence on the basic functions of the family. Out of the total sample size of 250 respondents, only 218 respondents report of any change in the functions of family due to violence, therefore, percentage responses of only 218 respondents have been included in this table and the responses of remaining 32 respondents couldn't be recorded. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 5b.

Out of the 218 respondents, 75 respondents (34%) strongly agree that the function of socialization of the members of the family has been affected. 124 respondents (56.9%) only agree with the statement and 19 respondents (8.7%) are undecided on the issue. In case of change in economic function of the family with

respect to its members, out of the total 218 respondents 76 respondents (34.9%) strongly agree that this vital function of the family has been undermined. 123 respondents (56.4%) only agree with the statement, 16 respondents (7.3%) are undecided on the issue while as 3 respondents (1.4%) disagree with the statement. For the change in the emotional security to the members of the family, 80 (36.7%) respondents strongly agree that the family couldn't guarantee the emotional security to its members. 116 respondents (53.2%) just agree on the issue, 17 respondents (7.8%) are undecided and at the same time 5 respondents (2.3%) disagree with the statement. On the issue of change in the function of providing better education to its members, 40 respondents (18.3%) strongly agree that this function has been undermined. 116 respondents (53.2%) just agree on the issue, 32 respondents (14.7%) are undecided, 15 respondents (6.9%) disagree and lastly 15 respondents (6.9%) strongly disagree that there has been any change in the function of family in relation to providing better education to its members.

As can be analysed from the table majority of the respondents believe that the basic functions of the family have been undermined. Although respondents in case of strong agreement scored most in the column of emotional security and in case of simple agreement scored most in the socialization column, but cumulatively (adding up strongly agree and agree scores) 91.3% respondents have reported the loss of function of socialization and economic security of the family to its members separately on both the counts. Again cumulatively 89.9% (Strongly Agree and Agree) respondents have reported loss of emotional security of family to its members. And 71.5% respondents cumulatively (Strongly Agree and Agree) believe that the function of providing better education to members by

the family has been undermined. During the conflict, the violence took its toll on family on various counts. The socialization which marks the initiation of the new born into the culture of family and society in large has been strongly affected. The child had to be educated in norms and values of the society, but the society was in a disarray and chaos. The old norms and values were fast changing and the new transitional norms and values crept in. It was difficult for the family to maintain the balance between the cherished values and the new values. The earlier values rested on peace, brotherhood, respect, sacrifice and altruism. But the new values emerged from violence and demanded strict codes to be adhered to for mere survival, the situation was anomic. The children and the adults learnt how to be safe during cross fires, how to be safe during searches and cordons, how to face the music of angry soldiers after encounters, how to face the authoritarian militants, how to face the militants and troops in normal times. The activities of leisure and recreation changed, the sunset was an alarm to be inside the home. There was change in language too, the average Kashmiri child not only knows the name of the most arms and ammunition used by militants and troops but identifies it, identifies the operation to be a cordon, raid or ambush. The language of violence has crept in the local language and often people use the words pertaining to violent acts in day to day lives. People find it hard to socialize their children when there is dearth of meaningful reference groups. The gun and the power associated with it over awes the young child, who finds it attractive and meaningful. This makes the situation hard for the family who find it hard to socialize their children. Secondly because of the violent conditions moral fabric of the society has been deteriorated, the young are at most of the times involved in

consuming harmful substances like cigarettes, wine and drugs to calm themselves and most often indulge in illegal sex quite unheard of in Kashmiri society. The sex scandal cases day in day out bear testimony to the facts. Therefore, when the morals, norms and values of society have been undermined, the family itself goes into disarray and the function of better socialization to members remains a distant dream.

Because of the continuous violence family has been unable to discharge most of its functions efficiently. The new culture of violence has taken its toll on economic function of the family too. Because of the continuing violence the men have been off the work most of the times, which has impeded in the fulfillment of the economic needs of the members sometimes. But the condition is worse in the cases where the earning hands of the family got wiped out in violence. The affected families got in dire economic straits, often the women had to search out for the work and make up for the economic needs of the family and its members. In certain cases even children had to work to make the both ends meet. In worst cases sometimes women were forced to sell their bodies to feed their families. So, when the bare survival of the family was difficult, the question of economic security never emerged.

The family happens to be the basic pillar of the emotional security to its members in difficult and extreme situations. The violence has snatched away this vital function of the family too. When the young feel unstable in their lives, they get emotional solace in the arms of their parents. But in the conflict zones like Kashmir when the elders of the family themselves feel unstable, they find it difficult to give time or encourage the young ones. The multiple pressures of

work, saving their lives while reaching to work place, reaching home before sunset makes men emotionally unstable, the women folk too find it difficult to wait for their men to come back, even the mere bad thought induces worst fears and threat in her and she too becomes weak. She is neither able to concentrate on her children nor on the domestic chores and the result is she is emotionally shattered. The situation becomes peculiar when the daughter longs for the secure company of her slain father where she felt to be at the top of the world; the princess of the house and the son who wants to play in the shades of the affection and love of his mother, who lost her life in the conflict. The situation becomes worst for the young daughters who happen to lose their mothers; their trusted companions. The result is that the emotional security of the family members is strongly undermined.

The family has been also affected in arranging for the basic educational needs of the members. The Pandit minority used to be a pillar of the education system and a reference group too. But the things changed after the onset of violence when Pandits departed the valley. The violence earned the status of a profession and many youth were lured into joining militant ranks for the freedom of the Kashmir from India, this closed their educational prospects for ever. Some of these youth died fighting troops and others were put behind bars. The family did try to intervene but the prevalent violent conditions rendered its efforts useless, the violent out group where these youth found a membership had an ideology which made the efforts of the in group (the family) to appear weak. Secondly, the violent conditions prevalent in the valley took its toll on education system as a whole. The frequent closures, cross fires, cordons, ambushes and anti ambushes, bomb blasts made hell out of life and schools and colleges remained closed for

days in the earlier phase of the conflict, the family could do nothing but remained a mere spectator in most of such cases. The education of women also got a set back as many girls had to leave education or never made to reach the college because of security reasons. The worst part is that certain families lost earning hands and the burden of running the family automatically felt on the children, who had no option but to bid farewell to the education. During later part of the conflict certain families who had resources sent their wards outside the state for better education owing to dearth of quality institutions in the valley. The University of Kashmir lost its glory to conflict so did the Regional Engineering College, the institution of excellence the Govt. Medical College had many subjects derecognized which once used to be among the top most Medical colleges of India. This clearly indicated that family couldn't maintain its function of providing education to members as desired, sometimes because of its own constraints and sometimes because of faulty education system, although the education system has improved a lot than the earlier days of conflict.

The case studies bear testimony to above facts, like the case of Parveena Akhter from Kulgam, her elder son has left education and settled for business because he found the prospect attractive. Although his widowed mother objected, but she couldn't convince him, it is just a case of faulty socialization. Take the case of grand children of Habibullah Mir of Dialgam; they identify their father as a martyr, the term they can't explain. The violence has simply crept in language. The case of Jawahira Akhter of Bhan village, her younger son is used to run away from work though condition of family is bad after the loss of the lone earning member of the family Tariq, he is consuming drugs too; it is again a case of faulty

socialization and at the same time leading to economic insecurity of the family. The cases of Shakeela Akhter and Shakeela Bano the two widows of violence, they are in economic straits after the death of the earning members in the family. Almost every family happens to be shattered in the case studies which are a testimony of emotional insecurity of the members. The economic insecurity has forced children to leave education like the case of Gowher, she began helping her mother and left education. The case of Narendra Kaur from Chattisingpora is another example, because of fear of violence, the mother has decided not to send her daughter to the town for higher studies.

To further make the things clear, the above findings have been cross tabulated with the family size and the results have been recorded in table 5.24.

Table 5.24 shows cross tabulation between effect of violence on basic functions of the family and family size. Out of the total sample population of 250 respondents, 173 belong to nuclear families and 77 respondents belong to joint families. Since only 218 respondents report of witnessing change in functions of the family, therefore, only the responses of this much amount of respondents have been recorded in the table, comprising of 153 Nuclear family respondents and 63 Joint family respondents. The percentage is, therefore, calculated from 153 Nuclear family respondents and 63 Joint family respondents.

In case of function of socialization of the family having been undermined, 48 nuclear family respondents (30.97%) compared to 27 joint family respondents (42.86%) strongly agree with the statement. 91 nuclear family respondents (58.71%) compared to 33 joint family respondents (52.38%) only agree with the above statement. 16 nuclear family respondents (10.32%) compared to 3 joint

Table 5.24
Effect of violence on functions of the family with respect to family size.

Opinion	Socialization			Economic support			Emotional security			Education						
	Nuclear	%	Joint	%	Nuclear	%	Joint	%	Nuclear	%	Joint	%				
Strongly Agree	48	30.97	27	42.86	47	30.32	29	46.03	59	38.06	21	33.33	30	19.35	10	15.87
Agree	91	58.71	33	52.38	96	61.94	27	42.86	82	52.90	34	53.97	87	56.13	29	46.03
Undecided	16	10.32	3	4.76	9	5.81	7	11.11	12	7.74	5	7.94	16	10.32	16	25.40
Disagree	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	1.94	0	0.00	2	1.29	3	4.76	12	7.74	3	4.76
Strongly Disagree	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	10	6.45	5	7.94
Total	155	100.0	63	100.0	155	100.0	63	100.0	155	100.0	63	100.0	155	100.0	63	100.0

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

family respondents (4.76%) are undecided on the issue. In case of the loss of the function of family providing economic support to its members, 47 nuclear family respondents (30.32%) compared to 29 joint family respondents (46.03%) strongly agree with the statement. 96 nuclear family respondents (61.94%) compared to 27 nuclear family respondents (46.03%) only agree with the statement. 9 nuclear family respondents (5.81%) compared to 7 joint family respondents (11.11%) are undecided on the issue. 3 nuclear family respondents (1.94%) disagree with the statement while none disagrees from the joint family respondents. Family seems to have lost the function of providing emotional security to members, 59 nuclear family respondents (38.06%) compared to 21 joint family respondents (33.33%) strongly agree with the statement. 82 nuclear family respondents (52.90%) compared to 34 nuclear family respondents (53.97%) only agree with the statement. 12 nuclear family respondents (7.74%) compared to 5 joint family respondents (7.94%) are undecided on the issue. 2 nuclear family respondents (1.29%) disagree with the statement while 3 joint family respondents (4.76%) disagree with the statement. For the undermining of function of providing for basic education needs of the members, 30 nuclear family respondents (19.35%) compared to 10 joint family respondents (15.87%) strongly agree on the statement. 87 nuclear family respondents (56.13%) compared to 29 nuclear family respondents (46.03%) only agree with the statement. 16 nuclear family respondents (10.32%) and 16 joint family respondents (25.40%) are undecided on the issue. 12 nuclear family respondents (7.74%) disagree with the statement while 3 respondents (4.76%) disagree from the joint family respondents. 10 respondents (6.45%) from nuclear family and 5 respondents (7.94%) from joint family strongly

disagree with the statement that violence has affected the function of the family in providing for the basic educational needs of its members. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 5c.

It can be inferred from the table that most of the respondents from both the categories show agreement with the proposition that the various functions of the family have been undermined. But on close observation, in the strongly agree row, joint family respondents score more in case of the socialization and economic support and nuclear family respondents score more in emotional security and education, in agree row respondents from the nuclear family score more on almost every count. This clearly points out that joint family feels more dysfunction of family due to violence in terms of socialization and economic support to members and nuclear family feels the same in case of emotional security and educational needs of members. The reason may be the strong stress on socialization of children and maintaining the expected behavior of members in the family, which has been undermined by the long history of violence. Secondly, joint family is common in rural areas which are mostly agricultural families, the pressures of maintaining the household in case of joint family are more, and the violence has impeded this function in a number of ways; sometimes by forceful gaps in work due to searches, cordons, firings; sometimes due to loss of the earning member of the family; sometimes due to loss of the house being burned or blown up. The nuclear family members feel loss of emotional support and education of family most, because the nuclear family finds more difficult to recuperate from pressures compared to joint families where some take the burden while the rest of members try to normalize the things one way or the other way. Again the nuclear family

being a close knit group finds itself emotionally weak on account of the suffering or loss of single member who sometimes happens to be the earning hand and leaves the loss beyond repair. The fulfillment of educational needs are most looked after nuclear family where every child is given due attention, hence nuclear family feels this function of family being impaired by violence more compared to joint family where more attention is given to work or family profession than education. But cumulatively (addition of strongly agree and agree scores) we find nuclear family suffering little more in every case of discharging its basic functions. The only reason for such a trend may be the closeness among the members of the members of a nuclear family. The family members want more from each other and welfare and care of children are of supreme importance to the parents. The loss of the earning member sometimes snatches away everything of such families. Contrary to joint families where other members come to the rescue of the immediate affected, the nuclear family has no such option to utilize. The result is that nuclear family faces the music of violence more rigorously and more intensely than a joint family, but it can't be ruled out that both types of the families have faced difficulty in discharging their basic functions.

The family is a close knit group which is associated with almost every event and affair of an individual's life in a traditional society like Kashmir. The marriage in a Kashmiri family is solely based on the decision of the family and family takes deep interest and pride in the arrangement of suitable mates for the eligible members of the family. Love marriage is often disliked as it challenges the authority of the family, and even in case of such marriages support of the family is

Fig. 5c: Graph showing effects of violence on functions of the family with respect to family size.

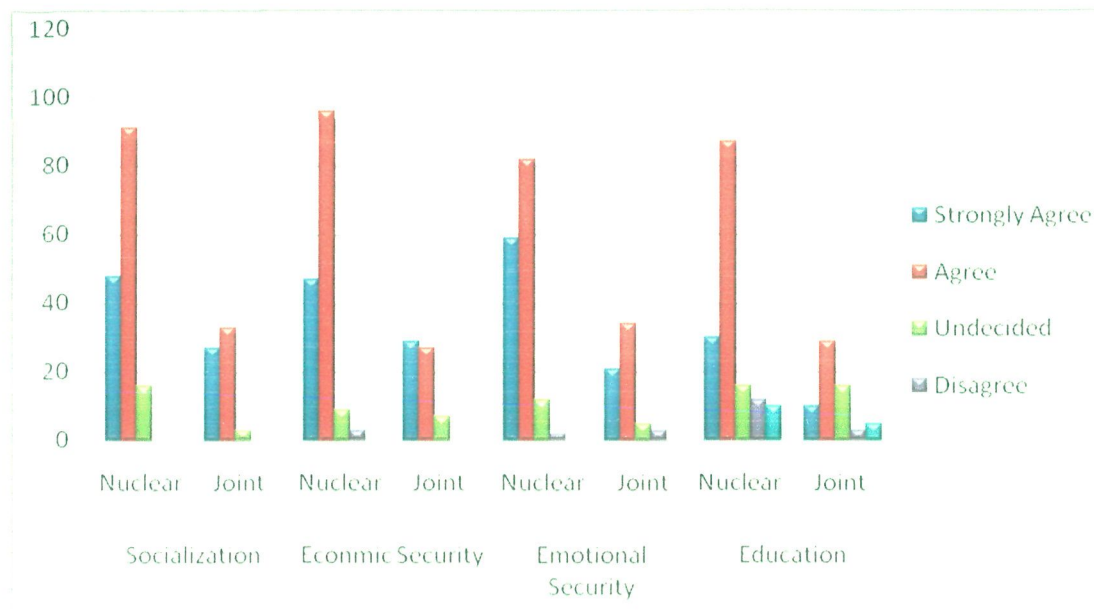
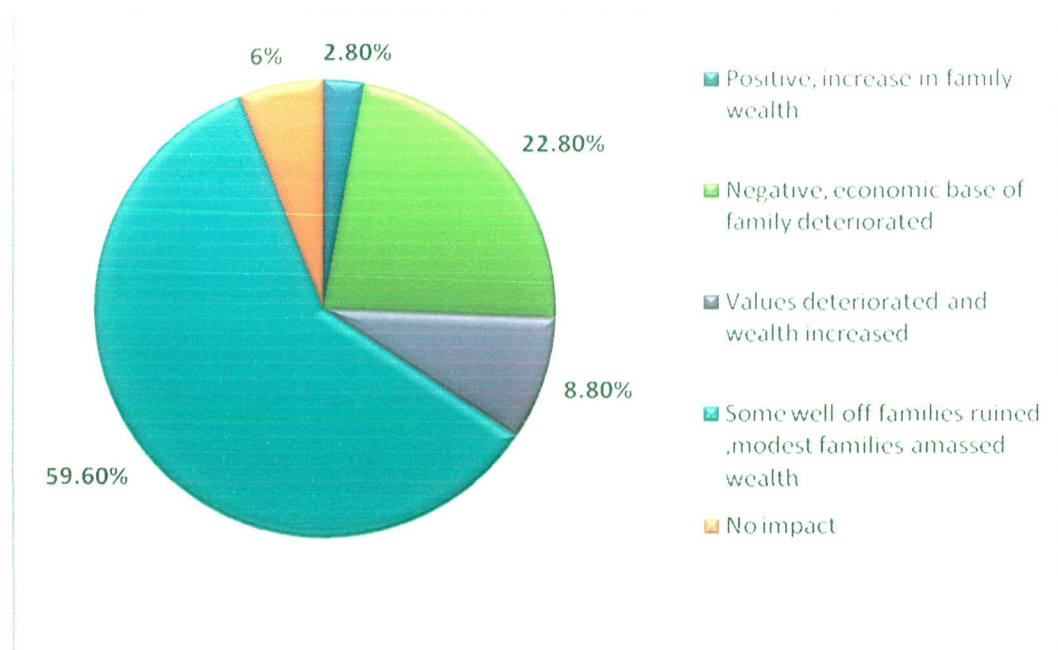


Fig. 5d: Graph showing impact of violence on economy of family.



needed by members to finally solemnize the affair. Therefore, family is an important unit which arranges for suitable matches for the eligible persons especially girls. The marriage of the girl is an extremely important affair in a traditional society as the girl is a symbolic creature with whom honour of the family is associated. The violence has taken its toll on this vital function of the family. The table 5.25 and 5.26 elaborate the details in this regard.

Table 5.25
Violence affecting family in terms of marriage of girls

Respondents opinion	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Undeserving proposals from gun yielding men	72	28.8	28.8
Girl herself ran away with the gunman	17	6.8	35.6
Victim of rape, closed marriage prospects	40	16.0	51.6
Eloped with boyfriend defying family authority	22	8.8	60.4
Family lost authority, girls take marriage decisions.	99	39.6	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.25 shows effect of violence on the marriage of girls. The marriage of girls has been one of the prime responsibilities of family and this function has been impeded by violence to a great extent. Out of the total 250 respondents, 72 respondents (28.8%) are of the opinion that family had to face undeserving proposals from the gun yielding men. 17 respondents (6.8%) are of the opinion that girls ran away themselves to marry the gunmen. 40 respondents (16%) are of the opinion that certain girls being victims of rape closed marriage prospects for them. 22 respondents (8.8%) feel that girls most often defy family authority and marry their boyfriends even against the will of the family. 99 respondents (39.6%)

are of the opinion that family has lost its authority and girls take the marriage decisions themselves.

The table shows the limiting function of the family with regard to the marriage of the girls. The dysfunction starts from the family being forced into marrying the girls by gunmen, the position of the family becomes awkward as they have to either shelve out money to stop the gunman or face the consequences which may result in death of the member in extreme cases. Girls were sometimes overawed by the gun yielding men who earlier commanded respect and prestige being called *Mujahids* (the holy warriors) or later by the counter insurgents who exhibited open display of power on streets and roads. The function of marriage of girls was impeded sometimes because of the girl being raped during violence by some agency. But violence has took its toll on the values and morals of society too, the position of the elders in the society and family received a serious setback, the new generation being brought up in violence showed little respect for the established values and norms of the society. They had little avenues of recreation, progress and achievement available. They became overindulged in their own lives and got alienated from the collective forces of the society. The family was itself witnessing dysfunctions with regard to its primary functions, result being youth became self centered and became alienated from their families too, they demanded more freedom as a result there happened some cases where girls eloped with their boyfriends or defied the orders of the family to marry the boys of their choice. The result was that one of the important functions of the family to arrange for the better soul mate for its younger members got impeded.

The things are further elaborated in table 5.26 where the cross tabulation technique has been used to bring to light the above limitation of the family with respect to location. Table 5.26 shows cross tabulation between effects on marriage of girls with respect to location, marriage of girls being one of the primary functions of the family.

Table 5.26
Marriage of girls with respect to location

Location	Respondents opinion					Total
	Undeserving proposals from gun yielding men	Girl herself ran away with the gunman	Victim of rape, closed marriage prospects	Eloped with boyfriend defying family authority	Family lost authority ,girls take marriage decision s	
Rural	41 (28.47%)	12 (8.33%)	23 (15.97%)	13 (9.03%)	55 (38.19%)	144
Urban	31 (29.24%)	5 (4.72%)	17 (16.04%)	9 (8.49%)	44 (41.50%)	106
Total	72	17	40	22	99	250

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Out of the total 250 respondents, 144 respondents are rural and 106 are urban. Out of the total 144 rural respondents, 41 (28.47%) are of the opinion that family received undeserving proposals from gun yielding men. 12 (8.33%) rural respondents are of the opinion that girls more often ran away with the gunmen themselves. 23 rural respondents (15.97%) are of the opinion that there have been cases of rape on girls, which closed their marriage prospects and thereby affected the vital function of the family. 13 rural respondents (9.03%) are of the opinion that often girls eloped with their boyfriends defying family authority and lastly 55 rural respondents (38.19%) are of the opinion that family has lost its authority and

girls mostly take marriage decisions themselves. Out of the total 106 urban respondents, 31(29.24%) are of the opinion that family received undeserving proposals from gun yielding men. 5(4.72%) urban respondents are of the opinion that girls more often ran away with the gunmen their selves. 17 urban (16.04%) respondents are of the opinion that there have been cases of rape on girls which closed their marriage prospects and thereby affected the vital function of the family. 9 rural respondents (8.49%) are of the opinion that often girls eloped with their boyfriends defying family authority and lastly 44 rural respondents (41.50%) are of the opinion that family has lost its authority and girls mostly take marriage decisions themselves.

The findings show that there has been no significant difference between the rural and urban locations with respect to dysfunction of the family in terms of marriage of the girls. The family elders used to be supreme decision making authority and wrested a great command in family matters especially of marriage. Although family has managed to save their daughters from undeserving men, but the violence corroded its base and the command and hold family used to enjoy on its members gradually vanished. Now the cases of girls choosing their partners themselves defying the authority of family are on rise and there have been cases of elopement with boyfriends too, which also happens to be defying of the family authority. There have been cases of rape too on girls which mostly go unreported because of the social stigma associated with it, but it can't be ruled out that being a rape victim has led to almost closure of marriage prospects for many girls. We can conclude that irrespective of the location the function of the family in terms of the marriage of the girls has been undermined to a great extent.

5.4 Family economy and authority

The continuous violence has also witnessed certain changes in the way of satisfying economic needs of the family. The valley has witnessed increase in corruption and fraud during these years of violence. Since the social control mechanisms are in disarray, such things are inevitable to happen. There is mad race for money which has driven people crazy and the social and moral fabric of the society is facing continuous deterioration. The things get clarified in table 5.27.

Table 5.27
Impact of violence on economy of family as per respondents view

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive, increase in family wealth	7	2.8	2.8
Negative, economic base of family deteriorated	57	22.8	25.6
Values deteriorated and wealth increased	22	8.8	34.4
Some well off families ruined ,modest families amassed wealth	149	59.6	94.0
No impact	15	6.0	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.27 shows impact of violence on the economy of the family as per respondents view. 7 respondents (2.8%) are of the opinion that violence has positive effects for the economy of the family in terms of increase in wealth and amenities. 57 respondents (22.8%) admit violence to have deteriorating effects on the family economy in terms of loss of wealth and amenities. 22 respondents (8.8%) find violence having mixed effects on family, while morals and values of the family receive a severe setback but there is increase in the wealth at the same time. 149 respondents (59.6%) are of the opinion that violence has affected certain

well off families ruining them and at the same time some average and modest families have amassed wealth. 15 respondents (6%) believe that violence has no impact on the economy of the family. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 5d.

It becomes clear from the table that mostly respondents feel well off families being ruined and modest families amassing wealth, followed by the second most popular category where people feel having negative effects on the economy of the family. The other responses appear to be too mild. The reason for this trend may be the corruption and illegal wealth amassed by people through various means. Even after the years of violence the standard of life in the valley is quite high. The illegal wealth has found entry into state through various means, like hawala channels, counterfeit currency and through militant outfits. Some well to do families have been degraded in status being hit by violence and at the same time some unscrupulous and fraud elements have gained a new status although through illegitimate means. The green gold of the valley is fast vanishing and the disproportionate assets to income cases are ever on increase. The worst part is that the society is becoming morally sick as the social control means to control such practices have become ineffective. The wealth is the only thing that counts and not the mode of earning. The other reason for such practice may be the social pressures for luxuries and consumerism which has become an antidote to fear and pressures of violence and at the same time order of the day in the valley, a cursory look at the average household reveals the use of gadgets and luxuries; this has further aggravated the situation as the pressures of maintaining social status force even noble people to go morally corrupt.

The case of Javaid Ahmed throws light on the findings, Javaid after returning from 9 year term in the jail was disgusted to see paupers turning into riches and riches into paupers. The money either came through hawala channels or other illegal means where some persons became middle men to provide logistics support to militants for carrying out attacks and in the process earning quick bucks. Some unscrupulous elements posing as militants collected huge sums of money in the villages as donations, thus duping innocent people.

For further clarification of the above findings, the cross tabulation technique has been employed where the responses of different income groups have been recorded regarding what they feel about the economy of the average household of the valley.

Table 5.28
Impact on the economy of the family with respect to income

Income group	Form of impact					Total
	Positive, increase in family wealth	Negative, economic base of family deteriorated	Values deteriorated and wealth increased	Some well off families ruined ,modest families amassed wealth	No impact	
Low (up to 5000)	0	17	11	47	4	79
	-	(21.52%)	(13.92%)	(59.49%)	(5.06%)	
Middle (5001 to 20000)	3	33	8	74	7	125
	(2.4%)	(26.4%)	(6.4%)	(59.2%)	(5.6%)	
High (20001 & above)	4	7	3	28	4	46
	(8.7%)	(15.21%)	(6.52%)	(60.87%)	(8.7%)	
Total	7	57	22	149	15	250

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.28 shows impact of violence on economy of family with respect to income groups. Out of the total 79 respondents from lower income group 17

(21.52%) are of the opinion that violence has negative impact on economy of the family and deteriorates economic base of the family, 11 (13.92%) respondents say values have deteriorated and wealth has increased, 47 (59.49%) opine that some well off families ruined and some modest families amassed illegal wealth and 4 (5.06%) do not find any impact of violence on economy of the family. Out of the total 125 respondents from middle income group 3 (2.4%) opine violence having positive impact on the family economy in terms of increase in wealth, 33 (26.4%) are of the opinion that violence has negative impact on economy of the family and deteriorates economic base of the family, 8 (6.4%) respondents say values have deteriorated and wealth has increased, 74 (59.2%) point out that some well off families ruined and some modest families amassed illegal wealth and 7 (5.6%) do not find any impact of violence on economy of the family. Out of the total 46 respondents from high income group 4 (8.7%) believe that violence has positive impact on the family income in terms of increase in wealth, 7 (15.21%) are of the opinion that violence has negative impact on economy of the family and deteriorates economic base of the family, 3 (6.52%) respondents say values have deteriorated and wealth has increased, 28 (60.87%) opine that some well off families ruined and some modest families amassed illegal wealth and 4 (8.7%) do not find any impact of violence on economy of the family. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 5e.

The table clearly shows that in every category majority of respondents feel that some well off families have got ruined in violence and some average or modest families have amassed wealth and that too with almost equal percentage in every income group. The negative impact of violence in terms of deteriorating

Fig. 5e: Graph showing impact of violence on the economy of the family with respect to income groups.

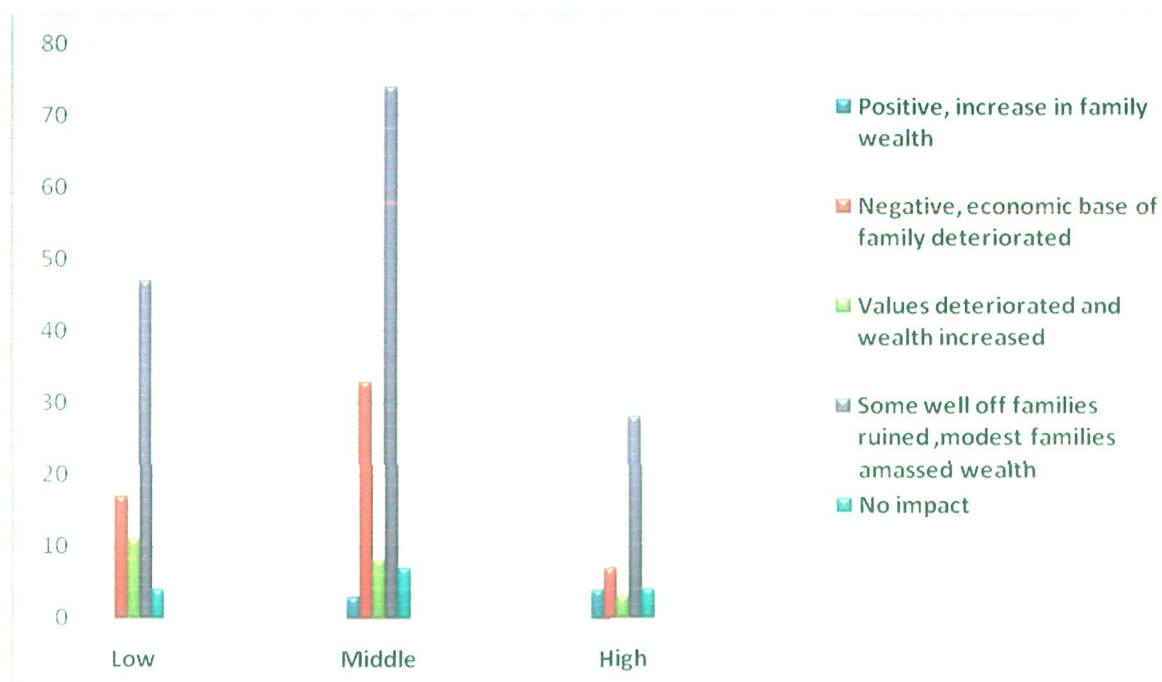
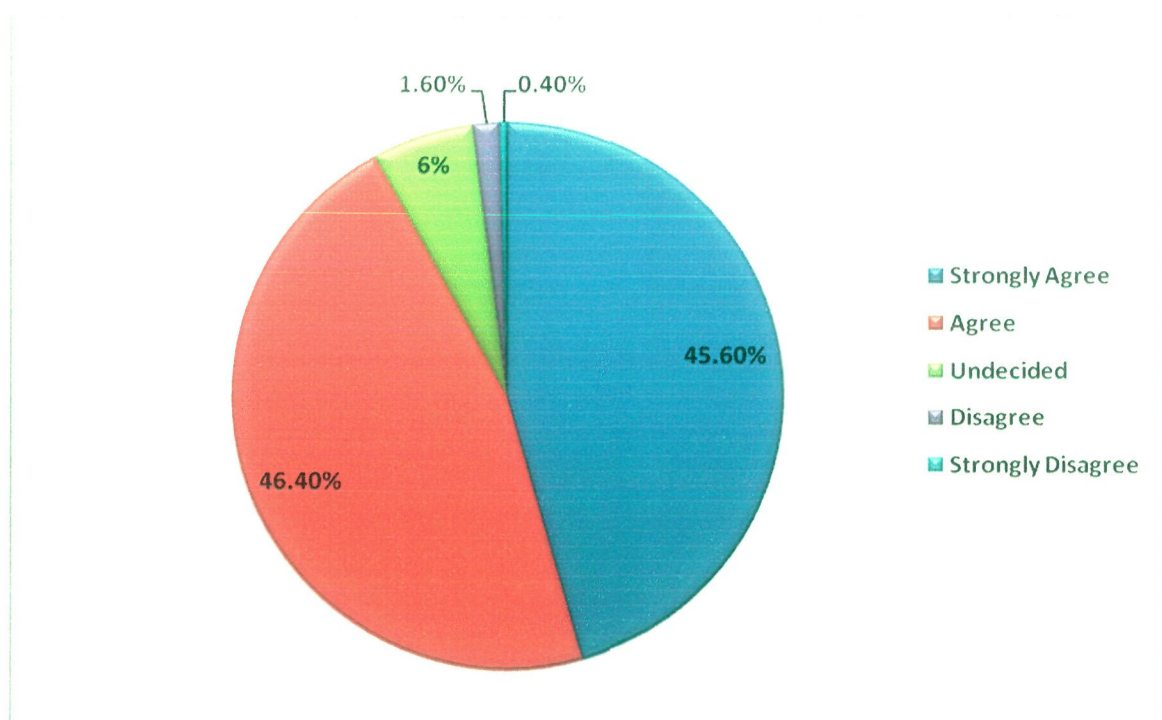


Fig. 5f: Graph showing loss of community leadership and community control due to violence.



economic base is also felt by all the three income groups, the lower and middle income groups show almost equal percentage 21.52% and 26.4% respectively while the high income records a bit lower percentage 15.21%. The reason for the first response is that every income group has witnessed some people amassing wealth through various unethical and illegal means, but because of the rampant violence there was no one to check such practice. So violence acted as a shield and a means for such people to get engaged in such practice. The lower and middle income groups feel the negative impact in terms of deterioration of economic base of the family more than high income group; it is because these two groups have felt the competition to excel more. This pressure has been mild in case of high income group who are either in high end jobs or established businesses. The race for consumerism in particular luxuries is most felt by middle income group, hence it records most in this category.

The violence has taken its toll on the authority of elders, both inside and outside family. The violence resulted in deep interpersonal disagreements within in the family and within the society; the old values, morals and traditions of tolerance and non violence became overshadowed and torn by the everyday violence, which left everybody to think on individualistic terms. When old order ceased to exist, the disruption and interpersonal conflict is inevitable. When family functions itself are in disarray, the community leadership and community control are thrown into tatters. The table 5.29 shows the details.

Table 5.29
Loss of community leadership and community control

Opinion	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	114	45.6	45.6
Agree	116	46.4	92.0
Undecided	15	6.0	98.0
Disagree	4	1.6	99.6
Strongly Disagree	1	0.4	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.29 shows respondents response to loss of community leadership and community control due to violence. Out of total sample size of 250, 114 respondents (45.6%) strongly agree that violence has resulted in loss of community leadership and control, 116 respondents (46.4%) agree with this view, 15 respondents (6%) are undecided on this issue, curiously only 4 respondents (1.6%) disagree that violence had any toll on the community leadership and community control and only 1 respondent (0.4%) strongly disagree with the statement. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 5f.

The table clearly shows that 92% respondents in total are of the opinion that there has been loss of community leadership and control. The community elders used to be central figures in each and every decision to be taken in the community affairs. There was certain respect and reverence the village elders or the elders of the particular locality used to enjoy. After the onset of violence the status of these elders started to receive a setback, sometimes at the hands of militants and sometimes at the hands of local youth associated with the militants some way. The elders used to follow a particular form of religion particularly Sufistic Islam and their authority was legitimized on the religiosity and piouness they possessed, because authority emerged from the pulpit. The militants and the

youth associated with them followed a new brand of Islam having strict Islamic codes alien to the Kashmiri Islamic traditions, as a result the conflict between the two groups emerged. The result was that the latter group shadowed the former owing to their power which mainly rested on the gun. So gradually the community elders lost their prestige and the authority they used to possess not only in the community affairs but to a great extent in their household affairs too. The case of Parveena Akhter is a suitable example when her elder son didn't heed to her suggestions and left education for business, defying his mother's orders.

5.5 Family Disorganization

The above findings clearly identify the disorganization of the family; the family has ceased to exist as a functional unit. The violence has defiled one of the basic units of social organization, that is, family. The continuous violence has taken toll on the family in multiple ways. The functions of family have been affected, authority has been defiled and it has been difficult for the family to deliver the aspirations of its members at various times, owing to widespread and multi centered violence. The violence is not on the battle front but in the streets, villages, cities and everywhere. Where it will erupt is not known to anybody. Most of the families have not been able to withstand the pressures of the violence; either because some earning member was lost, business was lost or the house they lived in was gutted or blasted subjecting the family to emotional, economical or physical trauma. The continuous violence has corroded the basic bonds of interdependence and cooperation on which family exists. The individuals constituting the family unit are themselves in disarray and face violence almost on daily basis, the violence is totally demeaning and the after effects get expression at

the household, sometimes with an occasional fight with the wife, hard talk with children, or the children taking on the parents. The things get clearer from tables 5.30 and 5.31 below.

Table 5.30
Family disorganization due to violence

Opinion	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	218	87.2	87.2
No	32	12.8	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.31
Forms of disorganization due to violence

Form	Frequency	Actual percent	Total sample Percent
Functions of family have been undermined	198	90.8	79.2
Power and authority of elders lost	195	89.4	78
Intergenerational conflict.	118	54.1	47.2
Domestic violence on rise	95	43.58	38
Inter family and intra family disputes on rise	9	4.1	3.6

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.30 shows respondents view regarding family disorganization due to violence. Out of the total 250 respondents, 218 respondents (87.2%) feel that violence has led to disorganization of family and 32 respondents (12.8%) do not feel so. Further table 5.31 records the multiple responses of the respondents with regard to forms of disorganization of the family. The respondents were asked to tick as many options as they find feasible. The actual percent column shows the percentage responses of 218 respondents who felt violence has resulted in family disorganization and total sample percent column shows percentage responses of the total sample size of 250 respondents. 198 respondents (90.8%) are of the opinion that various functions of the family have been undermined which amounts

to 79.2% of the total sample size. The second most form of disorganization according to respondents is loss in power and authority of elders, 195 respondents (89.4%) opine so, which amounts to 78% of total sample size. Again 118 respondents (54.1%) feel there is intergenerational conflict which adds up to 47.2% of total sample size. 95 respondents (43.58%) believe that family has witnessed increased domestic violence which amount to 38% of total sample size and lastly a meager 9 respondents (4.1%) report of interfamily or intra family disputes on rise which amounts to 3.6% of total sample size. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 5g.

The table first confirms the loss of various functions of the family ranging from socialization, economic, education to emotional functions of the family. Secondly, the findings of the table 5.29 are further reinforced by the table 5.32, the power and authority of elders and intergenerational conflict has been reported by most of the respondents. There is a clash between the old and new values, the old used to follow certain moral codes continuing for generations in a peaceful environment in a beautiful cultural mosaic of tolerance, interdependence and responsibility. With the onset of violence the society went into transition where earlier codes ceased to exist, the condition became more or less anomic. The result was that social relations went into a disarray and disruption so does the inter familial relations. The new culture of violence mainly targeted youth, who were swept away by the ecstasy of freedom and the establishment of a new nation. In the process they often became accultured to new values and virtues which were in juxtaposition to the values and virtues of their families and the society in large. A

Fig. 5g: Graph showing forms of family disorganization due to violence.

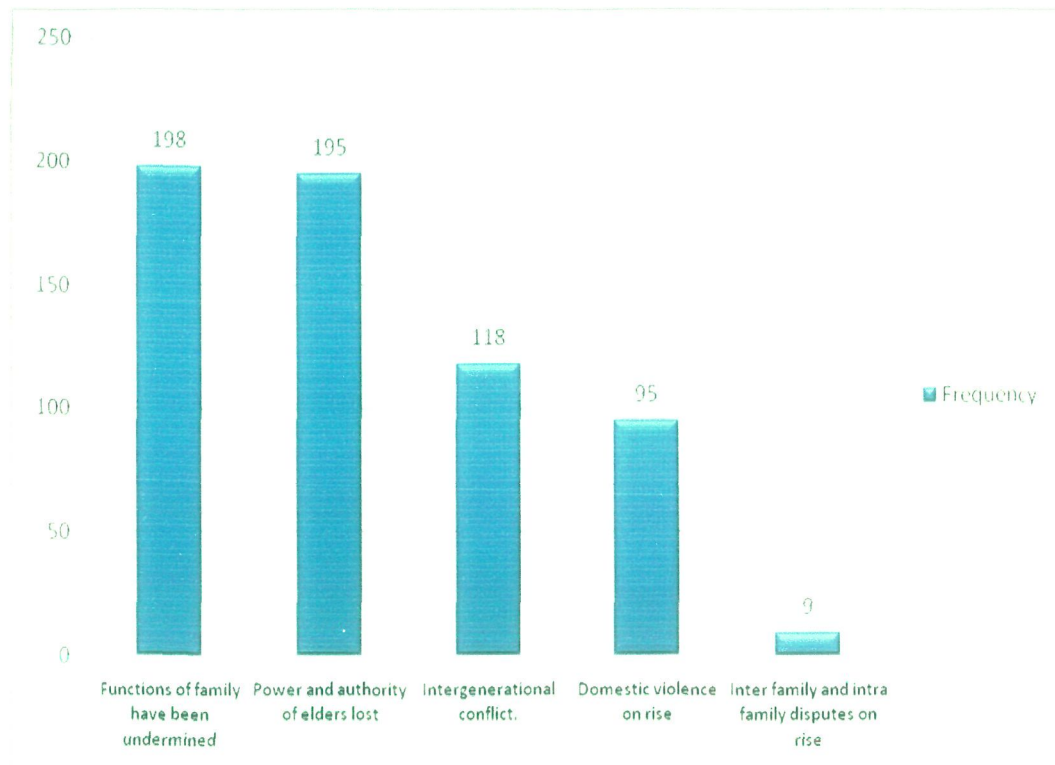
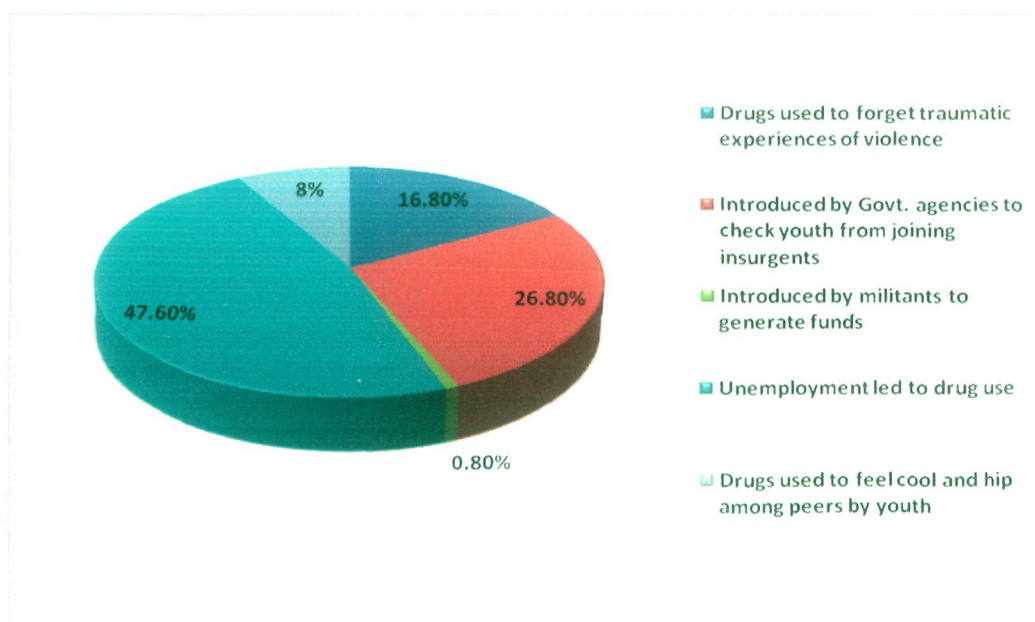


Fig. 5h: Graph showing reason of increased drug use among youth.



considerable number of respondents are of the opinion that the continuous violence has resulted in increased domestic violence, the reason may be the violence people experience in their daily lives, which gets manifested at home either in the form of wife battering, occasional fights between partners, disagreements between parents and children, the tolerance levels have gone down and many people are suffering from disorders like hypertension, depression and PSTDs (Post Traumatic Stress Disorders). The other reason for increased domestic violence is the little significance associated to it in conflict situation, the violence is so prevalent in society that domestic violence attracts little attention and significance, even the victims attach little significance to it. The larger threat and fear makes little disorders insignificant.

The violence has also led to increased drug use among the population; there is increased use of depressants, high drug antibiotics, pain killers etc. But the worst scenario is the use of drugs like Charas, Ganja, Brown Sugar and alcohol by youth which leads to addiction. The following table gives us the details.

Table 5.32
Reason of increased drug use among youth

Respondents view	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Drugs used to forget traumatic experiences of violence	42	16.8	16.8
Introduced by Govt. agencies to check youth from joining insurgents	67	26.8	43.6
Introduced by militants to generate funds	2	0.8	44.4
Unemployment led to drug use	119	47.6	92.0
Drugs used to feel cool and hip among peers by youth	20	8.0	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 5.32 shows reason of increased drug use among youth. Out of the 250 respondents, 42 respondents (16.8%) feel that drugs are used by youth to forget traumatic experiences of violence they have gone through, 67 respondents (26.8%) feel that drugs have been introduced by Govt. agencies to dissuade youth from joining militants. Only 2 respondents (0.8%) believe that drugs have been introduced by militants to generate funds. Curiously 119 respondents (47.6%) are of the opinion that unemployment led to the frustration among youth who resorted to drugs as an escape. And 20 respondents (8%) feel that youth find drugs appealing to feel cool and hip among peers. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 5h.

The Table indicates the multiple reasons which may be responsible for the increased drug use among youth. The table indicates that most plausible reason for the increased drug use is unemployment. Due to ongoing violence the private sector has found it difficult to operate in the valley. The government concentrated its resources on fighting militancy and no avenues were generated to get the youth engaged in some meaningful work, where they could make a living for themselves and their families. The chances of getting an employment appeared bleak, as a result some found their way into the ranks of militants and others resorted to drugs as an escape. The second most reason according to respondents is that the drugs were introduced by Govt. agencies to dissuade youth from joining militants. At the start of militancy the liquor shops were closed in valley and even before that the consumption of liquor was a taboo in Kashmiri society and according to Muslim law. But in the past few years liquor shops have opened up again at selected places under the shield of army. In villages and towns the army men have been found to

provide liquor freely. The other commonly used drugs among youth are Charas, Ganja, and brown sugar, the cigarette smoking is quite common among the valley youth. The youth find it appealing to forget traumas they or their families have went through. It was learnt during the course of field work that there are certain areas like Khovripora village in district Anantnag on Anantnag-Pahalgam route where under the patronage of forces, a market opens up in late night hours where liquor, drugs and girls are arranged for sex, this is just a tip of the iceberg. The other sociological reason for this development is that at the start of conflict, the people were integrated into the in group so hard that even the thought of breaking a rule would harm the position of the person in the society, the goals and means to reach the goals were manifest. The freedom was considered to be just close. But as the conflict prolonged, the goals appeared to be far and the means to achieve them were used for certain personal ends by various people. The result was that the norms of the in group ceased to exist and everything went into disarray and chaos. The result was that most people found peace in the shade of religion and others resorted to drugs as a means of escape or a tool to face chaos and disorder in their lives. The only example in this regard happens to be Jawahira Akhter's younger son, who has started taking drugs.

Finally it can be concluded that the people have been subjected to different forms of violence, the play of violence has been spatial and gender specific. Spatial in the sense that certain locations have been more prone to violence than other locations and gender specific in the sense that certain forms of violence have been employed to victimize specific gender. The victims happen to be old, youth, juveniles but the victims who happen to be earning members often bring about the

disruption of the family unit as a whole. The family as a unit has suffered on many counts in the violence ridden valley. The basic functions of the family have been undermined, the economy of the family is showing unusual trend because of inflow of black money through unlawful channels, the family and community controls are fast vanishing . The family disorganization manifests itself in the form of intergenerational conflict and more seriously in the form of increased domestic violence. The domestic violence being an interfamilial matter attaches little significance to the people with respect to the larger violence of the society. The victims themselves find this violence insignificant. The masculinization of the violence symbolises women as objects of honour, where they become targets of violence from outsiders and their own men device restrictions on them in terms of restricted movement, dress and increased pressures which often happen to be undemocratic and dictatorial. There is increase in patriarchal orders and the increased domestic violence is an inevitable outcome which mostly goes unnoticed. In this chaos and disorder another social problem in the form of drug addiction has raised its head leading to individual disorganization and thereby leading to family disorganization.

Chapter 6

Violence and Women

The continuous violence has taken a toll on a particular gender. As pointed out earlier that due to masculinization of violence and strengthening of the patriarchal setups women become more susceptible to violence. The outsiders specifically target the women who are the symbols of honour and procreation for the opposing group with an aim of damaging the morale of the fighting men. The women also suffer indirectly when someone in the family or relation become target of the violence which have a direct bearing on the women because a woman happens to be a mother, a wife, a daughter and a sister. The increasing militarization and special laws against resistance to bring the situation under control give men in uniform authority to act at will and that too with impunity. The resulting violence results in half widowhood and widowhood of many women who have to bear the pain and brunt of violence on daily basis. The women happen to be thus a category most lethally affected by the violence in conflict situations.

6.1 Anatomy of violence against women

The women happen to have suffered on multiple counts in the continuing conflict. She has suffered the bruises on her identity; her immediate sources of support and security have vanished. The fog of violence has crept into her personal spaces, where sometimes she lost her honour and chastity and at times she suffered as an immediate dependent on the victim that left her to face the vagaries of the time and the social pressures of existence. The situation became precarious for the half widows who could neither get divorce not could remarry for the uncertainty looming around their lives and the thread of hope and faith still binding them to the belief that their loved ones will return back to lit their dark corners again. The

following tables show the extent of suffering of women in the almost two decade long conflict still continuing in the valley of Kashmir.

Table 6.1
Effect of violence both direct and indirect on women

Opinion ,	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	245	98.0	98.0
No	5	2.0	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.1 shows effect of violence on women both direct and indirect if any as per respondents view. Curiously 245 (98%) respondents feel that women have been doubly affected by violence and only 5 respondents (2%) do not feel so. This is because besides being hit by violence in person, women get affected if someone in the family becomes victim of violence. The woman happens to be a mother, a daughter, a sister, and a wife and becomes emotionally and socially affected if her son, father, brother or husband becomes the victim of violence. The irony is that the victim of violence whether militant, policeman, counter insurgent or a common man happens to be Kashmiri first and hence affecting a Kashmiri family and women of the Kashmiri household in particular. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 6a.

Almost every case in the study has a story which shows how women have been affected, defiled and her life chances disrupted in the continuing conflict. The cases of Narendra Kaur, Parveena Akhter, Jana, Shakeela Akhter, Shakeela Bano, Jawahira Akhter, Gowher and Nuzhat are witness to the multiple forms of the suffering women undergo as a mother, daughter, wife, sister of the deceased and at

Fig. 6a: Graph showing view of respondents regarding effects of violence, both Direct and Indirect on women.

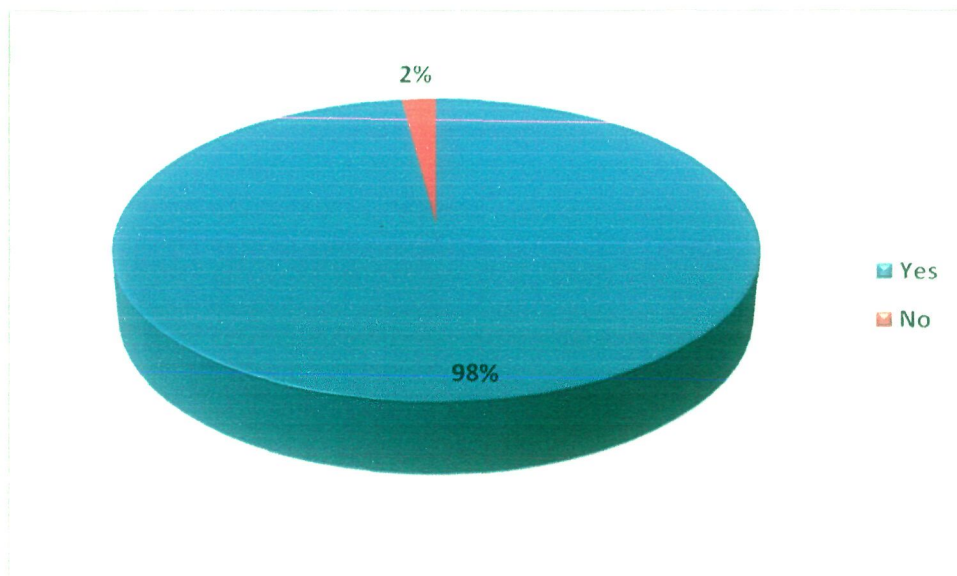
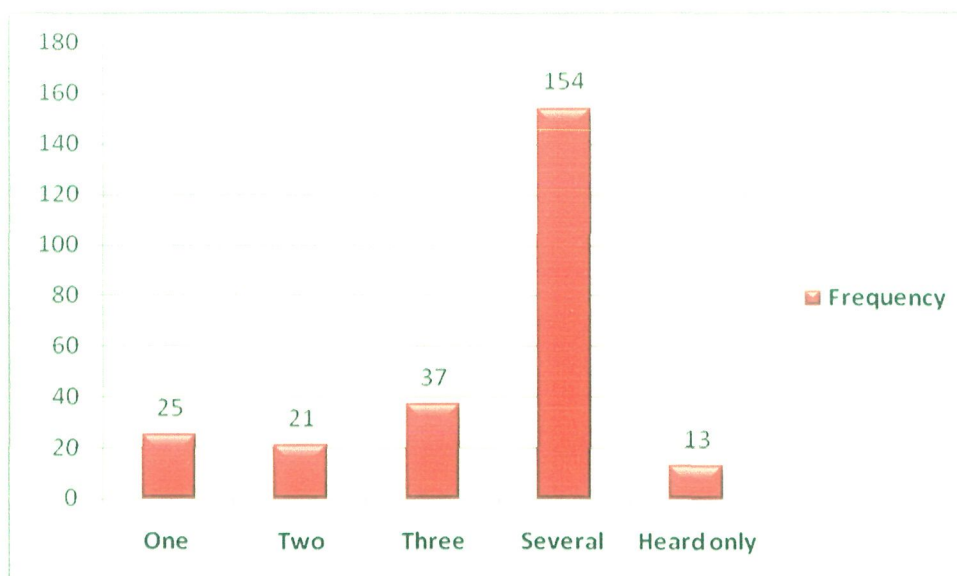


Fig. 6b: Graph showing cases of widows of violence known to respondents.



the same time the case of Tahira shows us the uncertainty and blank life of a half widow.

The things get further clarification in the tables below where multiple ways in which woman suffers in a conflict situation like Kashmir has been highlighted.

Table 6.2
Suffering of woman as a mother

Form of suffering	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Son tortured and left half dead	50	20.0	20.0
Son/sons disappeared, whereabouts never located	43	17.2	37.2
Son picked up by forces/militants, later killed	59	23.6	60.8
Son kept in long detention	10	4.0	64.8
Witnessed multiple funerals in her family	88	35.2	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

The women have suffered in multiple ways being a daughter, a sister, a mother and a wife. Table 6.2 shows the suffering of woman as a mother. Out of the 250 respondents, 50 respondents (20%) agree that a woman suffered as a mother when her son was tortured and left half dead. 43 respondents (17.2%) are of the opinion that a woman suffered as a mother when her son or sons disappeared whose whereabouts could never be located. 59 respondents (23.6%) are of the opinion that a woman suffered being a mother at the hands of either government forces or militants when her son was picked up by them and later killed. 10 respondents (4%) feel that a woman suffered being a mother when her son was kept in long detention. Majority of respondents 88 (35.2%) believe that a woman has suffered as a mother when she saw multiple funerals in her family.

The table indicates the multiple forms of sufferings a woman has gone through being a mother during the prevalent conflict situation. She has seen the dead body of her children taken to graveyard, she has seen her children been taken by Army, who could never return back. She has seen her family being sprayed with bullets in front of her eyes. She has seen her daughters being molested in front of her eyes. But the major suffering has been the death of the family members in violence, the loss and suffering that no one can heal.

The case of Jana from Kulgam is an eye opener in this regard who not only has witnessed the two funerals of her bachelor sons, but also seen one of them being tortured to death in front of her eyes, whose shrieks for help still haunt her. The case of Jawahira from Bhan village of Anantnag is an another example in this regard who lost her dear son only to have been married nine months before leaving the family in economic straits and his teenage wife to bear the widowhood.

Table 6.3
Suffering of woman as a daughter

Form of suffering	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Lost her father in violence, emotionally affected	56	22.4	22.4
Molested in front of family by government forces	21	8.4	30.8
Father/mother/brother tortured or killed in violence	101	40.4	71.2
Daughter of widow of violence, suffered like her mother	24	9.6	80.8
Daughter of a militant, house searched and modesty outraged	48	19.2	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.3 shows the suffering of woman as a daughter in these years of violence as per respondents view. The respondents were asked to tick the option

they thought was appropriate according to them. Accordingly 56 respondents (22.4%) are of the opinion that a woman suffered as a daughter when she lost her father and was emotionally affected in the process. 21 respondents (8.4%) say that a woman suffered as a daughter when she was molested in front of her family by government forces, 101 respondents (40.4%) are of the opinion that the torture of different family members led to the suffering of woman as a daughter. 24 respondents (9.6%) are of the opinion that a woman suffered being the daughter of the widow of violence, who suffered the same fate as that of her mother. 48 respondents (19.2%) feel that a woman suffered as a daughter when she happened to be the daughter of a militant, their house being searched and her modesty outraged in the process.

The table clearly shows that a woman as a daughter has suffered on multiple counts, but she has suffered most when her family members were tortured, she lost her father and as a daughter of an insurgent where she happened to be the natural prey of agencies. It is noteworthy here to mention that 9.6% respondents feel that woman as a daughter of a widow of violence has suffered the same fate as her mother. The woman happens to be attached to both the family of orientation and the family of procreation. Being a daughter she feels most for her father to whom she is emotionally attached and family members with whom she feels secure and satisfied. The violence against the family happens to shatter her and make her emotionally weak as well as prone to threat and fear. The things get worse when she herself becomes direct victim of violence which leaves a deep scar on her personality and social life, the repercussions of which are beyond recognition.

The case of Gowher from Mattan is an instant example in this regard who remembers her father along with the other kids, the sight of bullet ridden body of her father still gives her pain. The case of Mubeena Akhter of Lissar village who was gang raped in front of her husband and relatives, the scar which haunts her even now. The case of Shakeela Bano of Kaladrang is another example whose daughters have suffered along with her after the death of their father. The family had to be separated for a while and the pain was unbearable. The four daughters of the deceased suffer for the mere existence and long for the fathers company. The case of Habibullah Mir is another example whose grand children still have the bullet ridden photograph of their father. The children were abandoned by their mother and as per Habibullah the young Gazala often longs for the love of her parents and questions him often regarding the whereabouts of her parents, for which Habibullah don't have answers.

Table 6.4
Suffering of woman as a sister

Form of suffering	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Brother/brothers lost their lives in violence	81	32.4	32.4
Sister of a militant who couldn't get suitable marriage offers	15	6.0	38.4
Brother picked up by army, never located thereafter	62	24.8	63.2
Beaten up brutally in cordons and detained for protesting	62	24.8	88.0
Molested/raped in front of her brother by forces	30	12.0	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.4 shows suffering of woman as a sister in these years of violence. The respondents were asked to tick the option the thought was most appropriate.

Out of the total 250 respondents, 81 respondents (32.4%) are of the opinion that woman suffered as a sister when her brother or brothers lost their lives in violence. 15 respondents (6%) feel that woman suffered as a sister being the sister of militant who couldn't get suitable marriage proposals. 62 respondents (24.8%) are of the opinion that woman suffered as a sister when her brother got disappeared in violence after being picked up by army. Again 62 respondents (24.8%) believe that woman suffered as a sister when she was beaten up or detained in cordons for protesting against the victimization of men at the hands of government forces. 30 respondents (12%) believed that woman suffered as a sister when she was raped in front of her brother by government forces.

The table like the above two tables 6.2 and 6.3 shows the suffering of women in violence. The woman has suffered most as a sister on the account of the loss of life in family in the form of her brother, the disappearance of brother and direct violence on her during violent situations. The worst form of suffering is when she is molested or raped in front of her family or brother. It tears apart her identity and honour, from which she never recovers.

The case of Parveena Akhter from Kulgam is a clear example who has not suffered on the account of the loss of her husband in the conflict, but her only brother Riyaz also lost his life in the conflict who joined militant ranks to avenge his brother in law's killing. Added to this her elder son is going against her wishes and often defies her orders and challenges her authority. The Parveena has thus suffered both as a sister, wife and a mother at the same time.

The Kashmiri women have also suffered the bane of widowhood; there are a number of women in every locality who happen to be widows of combatants or

civilians going through the painful ordeal of running their families and managing the household affairs which at times goes out of hand for them. The details are given in the tables below.

Table 6.5 shows cases of widows known to respondents. Out of the total of 250 respondents, 25 (10%) respondents know the single case of widows of violence each. 21 (8.4%) claim of having knowledge of 2 cases each of widows of violence. 37 (14.8%) respondents know about 3 such cases each. Majority of respondents 154 (61.6%) claim having knowledge of several cases where women became widows of violence. Only 13 (5.2%) claim to have only heard of such cases. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 6b.

Table 6.5
Widows of violence known to respondents

No. Of cases	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
One	25	10.0	10.0
Two	21	8.4	18.4
Three	37	14.8	33.2
Several	154	61.6	94.8
Heard only	13	5.2	100.0
Total	250	100	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

The table clearly shows that violence has hit women hard. The Kashmiri society being patriarchal in nature confines women mostly to take care of household work and the men work outside to earn a livelihood. The loss of the husband not only leads to absence of the head of family, but also the source of economic and emotional support to wife and children. These women (widows of violence) are subjected to multiple pressures of maintaining household, bringing up children and maintaining their honour and modesty. They often become

victimized either at the hands of in-laws or sometimes amorous men trying to exploit them.

The cases of the widows like Parveena Akhter, Narendra Kaur, Shakeela Akhter and Shakeela Bano all are clear examples how widows suffer in the conflict ridden contemporary Kashmir. The life is hard for Parveena and Narendra to manage their family affairs and bringing up their children but even harder for the Shakeela Akhter and Shakeela Bano who couldn't manage to get government jobs and have to survive on bare minimum they get. The things become more precarious for the widows of combatants who are not even entitled to the compensation being paid next to the kin of deceased by the government like the case of Shakeela Bano. The things get further cleared in table 6.6.

Table 6.6
Form of victimization of widows

Form of victimization	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Indecent proposals and dubbed bad character	32	12.8	12.8
Suffered at the hands of in-laws	31	12.4	25.2
Sacrificed her desires to look after her children	167	66.8	92.0
Forced to remarry against her will	9	3.6	95.6
Victim of certain agencies and forced into prostitution	11	4.4	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.6 shows different forms of victimization of widows as per respondents view. Out of the total 250 respondents, 32 (12.8%) respondents are of the opinion that widows have been subjected to indecent proposals and often dubbed as bad characterized. 31 (12.4%) respondents are of the opinion that widows

suffered at the hands of in-laws. Curiously 167 (66.8%) respondents are of the opinion that widows sacrificed their desires to look after their children. 9 (3.6%) respondents say that widows have been forced to remarry against their will. And 11 (4.4%) respondents agree that widows have been victims of certain agencies and forced into prostitution. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 6c.

Table clearly shows that majority of respondents 66.8% say widows have taken care of the household and reared up the children and sacrificed their desires. The findings match with Prof. Bashir A Dabla's report "Impact of Conflict Situation on Women and Children in Kashmir". Dabla points out that out of the sample 300 affected women only 26 (8.66%) have remarried, the rest 274 women didn't remarry who wanted to devote themselves for the children of their dead husbands (Public Commission for Human Rights Srinagar, 2005:282). Although there have been victimization of widows either at the hands of in-laws or by certain rouge elements, the Table shows that widows have managed to run their families and maintain the household. But the pressure of running the family itself is the big pressure and these fateful victims of violence sometimes sell their bodies to make both ends meet.

The cases of the widows presented to corroborate the findings of the table 6.5 also are relevant to the present table (6.6). Like the example of Parveena Akhter who was widowed at a very young age sacrificed everything, her desires and life for the betterment of her children. Bearing all odds even the advancing men to exploit the situation she was going through she has fought well to save her

Fig. 6c: Graph showing different forms of victimization of widows.

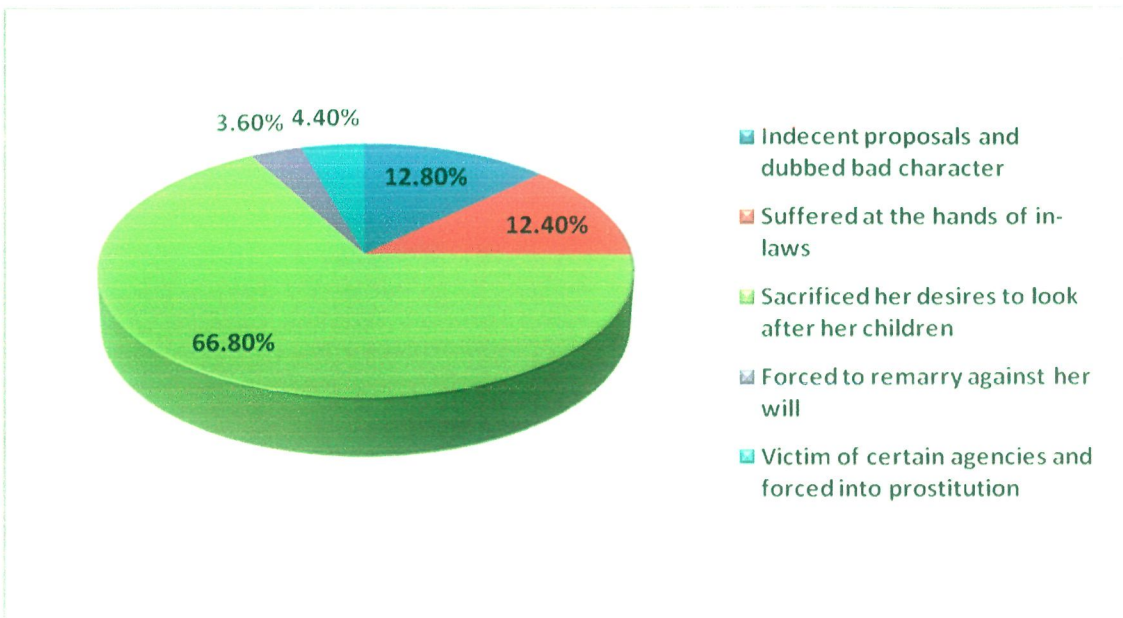
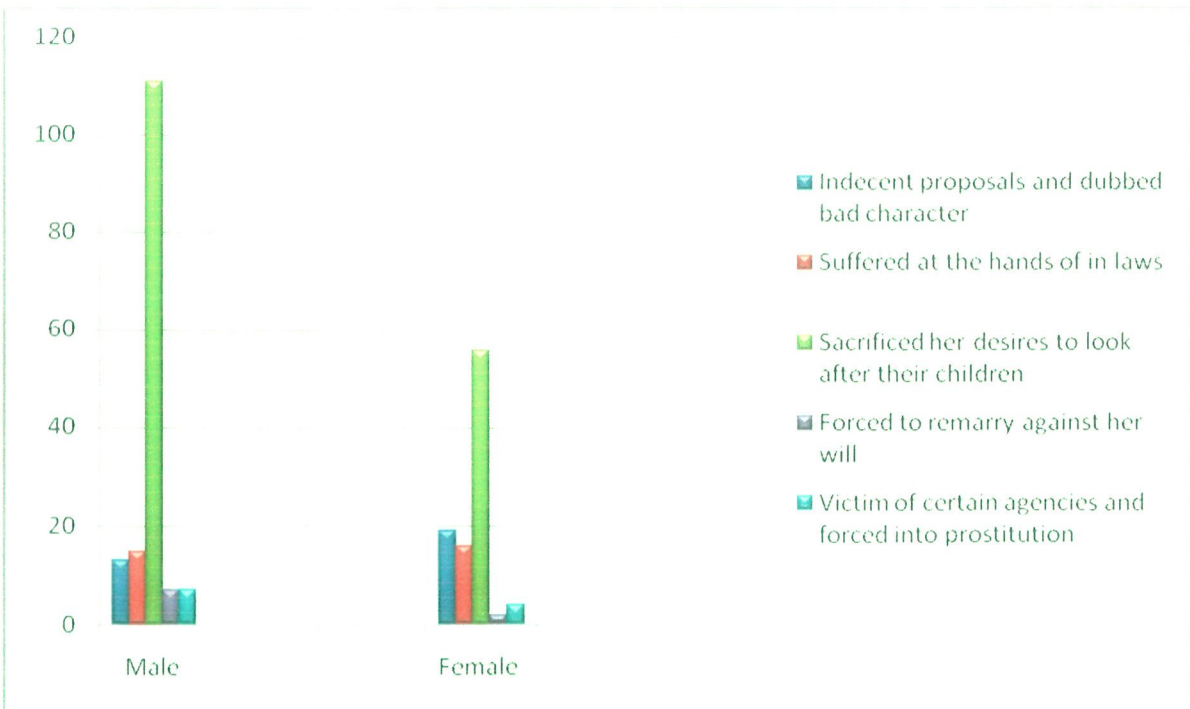


Fig. 6d: Graph Showing different forms of victimization of widows with respect to gender.



family to a great extent from being disintegrated or defiled. The things become more clear when the findings are cross tabulated with the gender in the table 6.7 below.

Table 6.7
Form of victimization of widows with respect to gender

Gender	Form of victimization					Total
	Indecent proposals and dubbed bad character	Suffered at the hands of in laws	Sacrificed her desires to look after their children	Forced to remarry against her will	Victim of certain agencies and forced into prostitution	
Male	13 (8.50%)	15 (9.8%)	111 (72.55%)	7 (4.57%)	7 (4.57%)	153
Female	19 (19.59%)	16 (16.49%)	56 (57.7%)	2 (2.06%)	4 (4.12%)	97
Total	32	31	167	9	11	250

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.7 shows cross tabulation of forms of victimization of widows with respect to gender. Out of the total sample size of 250 respondents, 153 are male and 97 happen to be female. Out of the total 153 male respondents, 13 (8.50%) respondents agree that widows have been subjected to indecent proposals and often labelled as bad charactered, 15 (9.8%) agree that widows have suffered at the hands of in-laws, 111 (72.55%) agree that widows have sacrificed their desires and brought up their children in dire circumstances, 7 (4.57%) agree that they were sometimes forced to remarry against their will and again 7 (4.57%) male respondents agree that widows have been victims of certain agencies and forced into prostitution. Out of the total 97 female respondents, 19 (19.59%) respondents agree that widows have been subjected to indecent proposals and often labelled as bad charactered, 16 (16.49%) agree that widows have suffered at the hands of in-

laws, 56 (57.7%) agree that widows have sacrificed their desires and brought up their children in dire circumstances, 2 (2.06%) agree that they were sometimes forced to remarry against their will and 4 (4.12%) female respondents agree that widows have been victims of certain agencies and forced into prostitution. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 6d.

It can be concluded from the table that contrary to men, the females find widows being victimised more either being subjected to indecent proposals, labelled bad charactered or having suffered at the hands of in-laws. Curiously contrary to 72.55% of males who find widows of having sacrificed their desires and bringing up their children only 57.7% females think so. The difference may be traced to patriarchal setup of the society, where males happen to dominate things. The males try to project the things for the widows to be in order, but females although reluctant have tried to put things in real perspective. The widows have been victimised and sometimes the adverse conditions of the family have led them to take extreme steps where they became an easy prey for the opportunistic persons. This victimization was not natural, but it was because of violence that led them into the circumstances where the only thing that mattered was survival and not the honour and modesty. There have been cases where widows have opted for prostitution as all other means to make a living were choked. The victims have been compensated by government most often but the amount either went into the hands of the in-laws or was delayed due to long procedures of release followed in government offices. Secondly the widows of militants or pro freedom men were never compensated and they became more vulnerable for being victimised at ease.

6.2 Fake Encounters and Disappearances

The power of the state to take any person into custody is the basic character of every state since earlier times. However, in modern secular and democratic state there are certain checks which guarantee the rights of citizens to safe guard themselves from the tyranny of the state. There are certain checks on the state authority which makes it mandatory for her to ensure the details about the detained to be made available, the visit to the detained and subsequent judicial procedure to establish the guilt of the detained. But in conflict situations like Kashmir and elsewhere state uses draconian force and the principle of the disappearances and fake encounters is used to suppress the movement. No information is divulged about the arrest, location of arrest and neither there is any access to the lawyer for legal redressal of the grievance. The result is the long futile waits and constant denial of justice by the agencies concerned. According to APDP, at least eight thousand people have “disappeared” since the insurgency began. In February 2003, the Mufti Sayeed government told the state legislative assembly that 3,744 persons had gone missing in Jammu and Kashmir in the period 2000-2002 alone (Human Rights Watch, 12 September 2006). The following tables show the details regarding disappearance and fake encounter victims.

Table 6.8
Fake encounters or disappearances

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	209	83.6	83.6
No	41	16.4	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.9
Fake encounter cases known to respondents

Cases known	Frequency	Total sample Percent	Actual Percent
One	35	14.0	16.7
Two	27	10.8	12.9
Three	14	5.6	6.7
Several	87	34.8	41.6
Heard only	46	18.4	22.0
Total	209	83.6	100.0

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.8 shows the fake encounter cases and the cases of disappearance known to respondents if any. Out of the total 250 respondents, 209 respondents (83.6%) report to have knowledge of fake encounter and disappearance cases and 41 respondents (16.4%) do not report so. The things get clear from table 6.9 and table 6.10.

Table 6.9 shows the number of fake encounter cases known to respondents. Out of the total 250 respondents only 209 report of having knowledge of such cases and the remaining 41 respondents deny the same (Table 6.8), therefore, the responses of only 209 respondents have been recorded in this Table Further the Total sample percent column shows the percentage responses of total sample population and the Actual percent column shows the percentage responses of the valid 209 respondents, who agree to have knowledge of fake encounter cases. Out of the total 209 respondents, 35 respondents (16.7%) report to have knowledge of 1 fake encounter case each, which happens to be 14% of the total sample population of 250 respondents. 27 respondents (12.9%) agree to have knowledge

Fig. 6e: Graph showing number of fake encounter cases known to respondents

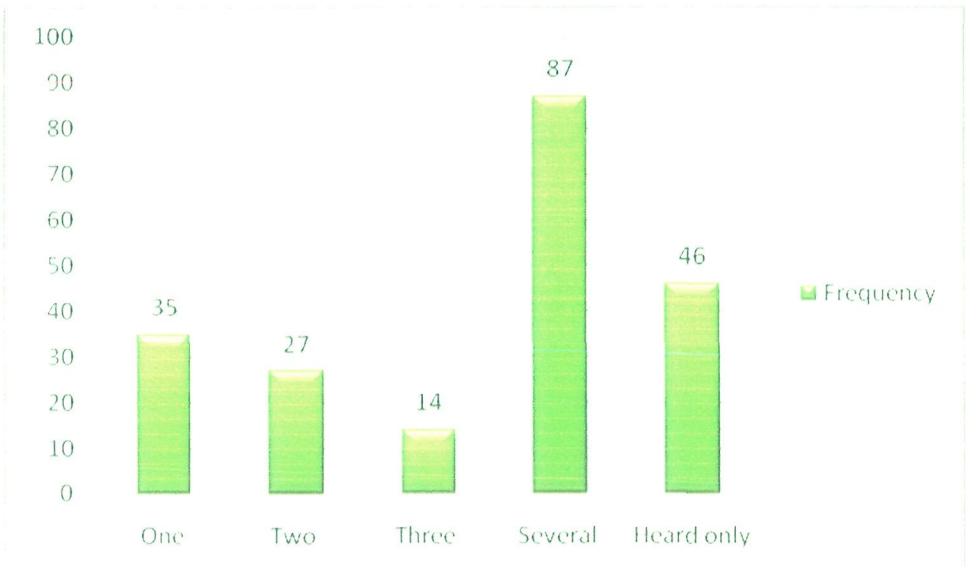
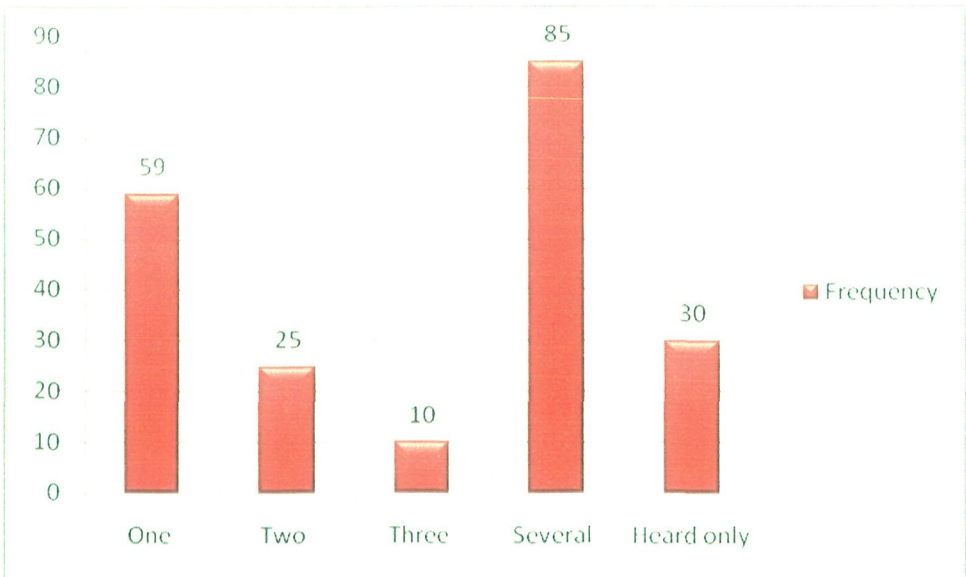


Fig. 6f: Graph showing number of disappearance cases known to respondents.



of 2 such cases each, which happens to be 10.8% of the total sample size. 14 respondents (6.7%) report to have knowledge of 3 such cases each, which amounts to 5.6% of the total sample size. 87 respondents (41.6%) agree of having knowledge of several fake encounter cases, which happens to be 34.8% of the total sample size. And 46 respondents (22%) report of having only heard of such cases which amounts to 18.4% of the total sample size. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 6e.

The table clearly shows that the majority of respondents report of having knowledge of fake encounter cases. The government forces are often involved in killing of local youth and men. During cross firings if there happen to be casualties on the side of troops, they compensate the same by killing double the number of local residents at the encounter site. The slain are either dubbed as victims of cross fire or sometimes claimed to be the militants involved in attack. During searches and frisking sometimes men are detained who either get disappeared sometimes or get killed and these fateful victims are dubbed as militants, killed in an encounter. Curiously the men in uniform get promotions having done a commendable job to save nation by smearing these innocent victims. These inhuman acts of bravery have come to light recently through media sensitization; otherwise such incidents mainly went unnoticed throughout most part of the long history of violence. Sometimes pressures to solve sensitive cases of security lapse where militants managed to escape after carrying out the deadly operations, the Police (STF/SOG) and Army got hold of some innocent men in some area, to be killed in some other area and the cases were claimed to have been solved. These slain men were sprayed with bullets or burned beyond recognition and were claimed to be the

militants involved in the deadly attack. The men who were tried for such cases were in the ranks of DSPs, SSps and Majors in Army who had even got medals for their valour in bringing these innocent victims down. The fake encounter cases that have come to light only appears to be the tip of iceberg and even in these cases the men involved have yet not got the punishment or managed to wash off their hands from the cases even after the DNA tests of the exhumed bodies established the facts that they were the local innocent men. The Table only shows the other form of violence that has taken its toll on the hapless victims of violence in the land once called paradise on earth.

Table 6.10
Disappearance cases known to respondents

Cases known	Frequency	Total sample Percent	Actual Percent
One	59	23.6	28.2
Two	25	10.0	12.0
Three	10	4.0	4.8
Several	85	34.0	40.7
Heard only	30	12.0	14.4
Total	209	83.6	100.0

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.10 shows the number of disappearance cases known to respondents. Out of the total 250 respondents only 209 report of having knowledge of such cases and the remaining 41 respondents deny the same (Table 6.8), therefore, the responses of only 209 respondents have been recorded in this Table. Further the Total sample percent column shows the percentage responses of total sample population and the Actual percent column shows the percentage responses of the valid 209 respondents, who agree to have knowledge of disappearance cases. Out of the 209 respondents, 59 respondents (28.2%) report of having knowledge of 1 case of disappearance each, which happens to be 23.6%

respondents of the total sample size. 25 respondents (12%) report to have knowledge of 2 such cases which amounts to 10% of the total sample population. 10 respondents (4.8%) report to have knowledge of 3 such cases each, which amounts to 4% of the total sample size. 85 respondents (40.7%) agree of having knowledge of several disappearance cases, which happens to be 34% of the total sample size. And 30 respondents (14.4%) report of having only heard of such cases which amounts to 12% respondents of the total sample size. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 6f.

Again like table 6.9 where majority people claimed having knowledge of fake encounter cases, the above table shows that majority of respondents claim to have knowledge of the disappearances during violence. The disappearances either took place at the dead of night when soldiers raided the house and took the victim along never to be located again or by moving army columns at no provocation of the victim, the families still happen to be clueless where the disappeared went. The other instances happen to be the detention at the Army camps and Ikhwan camps. The victims were tortured to death and instead of dead bodies being returned back to families the victims were dumped either into rivers or mass graves. The other cause of disappearances happens to be the youth being lured by militants to join them, the youth were sent to cross border camps in Pakistan and many of the boys never returned neither could be ever located. But the worst part is that some persons who were picked up by army in front of their people, who later denied to have detained these innocent victims. The Police is often reluctant to lodge FIRs and accepts the army's version most often. The matter has been taken up by NGOs working in valley, the most prominent been Association of Parents of Disappeared

People (APDP), who hold demonstrations and consultations with the agencies to look forward for the return of the disappeared, if possible ever. The most of these disappeared happen to have been killed in cold blood and the prolonged wait for the anxious parents seems to be unending and only itching the sensitive human soul, which at the same time is a big blot on the state of human rights in the state. Recently the numerous unmarked graves and mass graves have been found in north Kashmir which has attracted widespread international attention; it is widely believed the journeys of many disappeared persons may have ended in these graves (Greater Kashmir, 10 July 2008).

Table 6.11
Fake encounter and disappearance cases affecting family and women

Effect	Frequency	Percent
Deceased/disappeared lost jobs and children had to work	245	98
Women subjected to emotional disorders	110	44
Women became widows/half widows	144	57.6
Migration of family from rural to urban areas	56	22.4
Resulted in school dropout /break in education	94	37.6

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.11 shows effect of fake encounter and disappearance cases on family and women. The respondents were asked to tick as many options as they find feasible as per their view. Out of 250 respondents, 245 respondents (98%) are of the opinion that fake encounter and disappearance cases have led to a phenomenon where deceased/disappeared lost jobs and children had to work to run the families. 110 respondents, 44% of the total sample population believe women were subjected to emotional disorders due to men losing lives in fake encounters or subjected to disappearances. Again 144 respondents, 57.6% of the

total sample sizes are of the opinion that women are either living the life of widows or half widows due to fake encounter cases and disappearances cases. 56 respondents, 22.4% of the total sample population feel that fake encounter and disappearance cases have led to migration of family from rural to urban areas. And lastly 94 respondents, 37.6% believe fake encounter cases and disappearance cases to be a reason for school dropout and break in education of the children and adults respectively.

It can be concluded from the Table that the cases of fake encounters and disappearances have taken its toll most on the children who according to majority of respondents had to work after the departure of the bread winner of the family, either being killed or subjected to enforced disappearance. The eldest male child happened to be the natural choice to shoulder responsibility of running the family, who either had to leave school or in case of an adolescent led to break in college education where he could never join back being once in business. This way sometimes talented youth because of the circumstances prevalent on their families sacrificed their careers. The women who happened to be sisters, wives, mothers and daughters of deceased or disappeared were subjected to a variety of emotional disturbances. In case of slain men, it left deep scars on their women folk who became nostalgic and restless even at the slightest mention of the name of the slain and suffer from PTSD and often they are themselves unaware of it as they never had time to consult a doctor . In certain cases where children were too small to work, women (the wife of the slain) had to work to make both ends meet. At times she was exploited beyond imagination. In case of disappeared men, the condition was even worse. The woman who happened to be the wife of the disappeared live

a life of a half widow, who could neither get divorce nor marry as it could never be confirmed where the disappeared was. Some did remarry to know only a later stage that the previous husband was still alive leaving them torn apart. The mothers of disappeared always are waiting with anxious eyes for their sons to return with a hope that the next person who comes to knock the door might be her son. The fear of further loss has forced many of these families to migrate to cities to live anonymous life. Back home at the native village the fear of army or militants made their lives sick. The table again is the testimony of events of violence especially in relation to women, who not only suffer physically, but emotionally, socially and economically. The family in turn suffers when the members that constitute it suffer or they happen to be in disarray.

The case of Gowher from Mattan again is an example who had to leave her education and started working in a local knitting centre to add up to the family income compromising with her dreams of getting higher education and making it big someday. The case of Tahira from Duksum is another example, who along with her sons had to migrate to Srinagar where she is rigorously working hard to earn something for survival and at the same time endlessly and untiringly searching for her husband's whereabouts who is the one among the many disappeared persons of the valley.

The long detention and subsequent disappearance has also affected women in particular as can be inferred from the table 6.12. Table 6.12 shows the suffering of women in relation to long detention and disappearance of men. The respondents were asked to tick multiple responses as many as they find appropriate and feasible. Out of the 250 respondents, 161 respondents (64.4%) are of the opinion

Table 6.12**Suffering of women in relation to long detention and disappearances of men**

Form of suffering	Frequency	Total sample Percent	Actual Percent
Uncertain future, cant marry again or seek divorce	161	64.4	76.7
Developed illicit relations to run family	61	24.4	29.0
Burden on in-laws and family of origin.	43	17.2	20.5
Living a life of abandon and looking after children	35	14.0	16.7
Got remarried only to know that previous husband is alive	16	6.4	7.6

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

that the women whose husbands happen to be in long detention or disappeared have got uncertain future as they can neither remarry nor seek divorce. 61 respondents (24.4%) say that these women developed illicit and illegal relations with other men to run their families in lieu of the money they got after selling their bodies. 43 respondents (17.2%) believe that these women became burden on their in-laws. 35 respondents (14%) believe that these women are living a life of abandon and looking after their children. And 16 respondents are of the opinion that these women got remarried to know later that the previous husband was still alive.

It can be inferred from the table that the saga of long detention and disappearance is another bane for women. Mostly women find themselves into painful stymies for years together whether to start a new life with a new man or wait for the man who they don't know is still alive or will return ever. They are living the status of half widowhood. The half widowhood again like widowhood due to violence has forced certain women into prostitution to look after the economic needs of the family. At the same time they have been harassed by inlaws

who find them to be a burden on them. But with all these bruises and wounds they still continue to look forward for a better future and run their families and look after their children. Sometimes they find new hopes and crave for new life to start with new companions and that bubble bursts only when they have begun to stretch their wings to know later that their earlier companions are still alive. This throws them back into the dungeon of miseries where from they had crawled out after toiling hard for years.

The case of Nuzhat from Anantnag is an eye opener in this regard. Her ex husband is languishing in jail and she was harassed by her in laws, her brother in law tried to seek sexual favours from her, an attempt was made to snatch away her children from her, but she resisted and fought every obstacle with courage. Today she is married to another man and her life is running smooth, but at the same time she is fearful when the lull breaks when her ex husband is released from the prison. Even being remarried to a noble man she finds it hard to get out of her violent past and torments and shatters her internally.

6.3 Health and Maternity Services

The health and maternity services were thrown out of gear with the onset of violence which saw the disruption in every institution of valley. The health services were affected too, the premier hospitals like SKIMS (Sher-i-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences) and SMHS (Shri Maharaja Hari Singh Hospital) of the valley couldn't function normally owing to checks and searches by security personnel for wounded militants. The staff and doctors were often beaten up and even running operations and labour rooms were not spared. The condition of the district and sub district hospitals was no different. In the small towns sometimes

unavailability of the doctor and the staff resulted in improper functioning of the hospitals. The situation was even worse during night hours when reaching hospital itself was not safe for the fear of a stray bullet hitting anybody on mere suspicion by the army. Virtually it was curfew after 10 PM when people were ordered to put off their lights by the security men. The snapped roads and burnt bridges even added to the existing worries in the emergency cases when the patient couldn't reach the hospital in time and led to precious loss of many lives. The things have changed a lot but the suffering which the people have gone through and many cases which they still go through needs to be accounted for.

Table 6.13
Violence as an impediment in availing health services

Respondents view	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	219	87.6	87.6
No	31	12.4	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.13 shows respondents view regarding disruption of health services due to violence. Out of the total 250 respondents, 219 respondents (87.6%) are of the opinion that due to violence people couldn't avail health services. Only 31 respondents (12.4%) are of the opinion that violence had no impact vis-à-vis availing of health services by people. The violence surely had impact on availing of health services by people. The firings, cordons, protests, shutdowns, blasts and heavy army movement made sometimes impossible to reach the nearest hospital. The situation was worse in nights where the patients and the accompanying persons were being questioned and frisked on the way to hospital in case of some emergency. The curious part is that in villages and towns people were asked to

carry kerosene lamps instead of electric torch while being to hospital during night, otherwise they came under fire being mistook as militants. The hospitals itself were ill equipped, sometimes there was absence of medicines and at times there was no doctor to attend the patient. There were episodes when patients lost their lives in operation theatres either because of negligence or sometimes hospital had no electricity backup and light went out for hours together. In frustration sometimes people would beat up the hospital staff. The condition for women was even worse, in majority of town hospitals there used to be no lady doctor on duty during nights and in case of emergencies either male staff had to deal with delivery cases or women breathed their last on the way to hospital because of non availability of transport or other disruptions. The whole discussion throws light upon the dismal state of health care in the state torn with violence.

Table 6.14
Disruption of emergency services due to violence

Respondents view	Frequency	Total sample Percent	Actual Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	32	12.8	14.6	14.6
Agree	164	65.6	74.9	89.5
Undecided	19	7.6	8.7	98.2
Disagree	4	1.6	1.8	100.0
Strongly disagree	-	-	-	
Total	219	87.6	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.14 shows disruption of emergency services in violence. Out of the total 250 respondents, only 219 respondents admitted of disruption of health services due to violence (Table 6.13) and 31 respondents denied of violence having any impact on health services, therefore, the responses of only 219 have been recorded in this table. The Total percent column shows percentage responses

Fig. 6g: Graph showing disruption of emergency services due to violence.

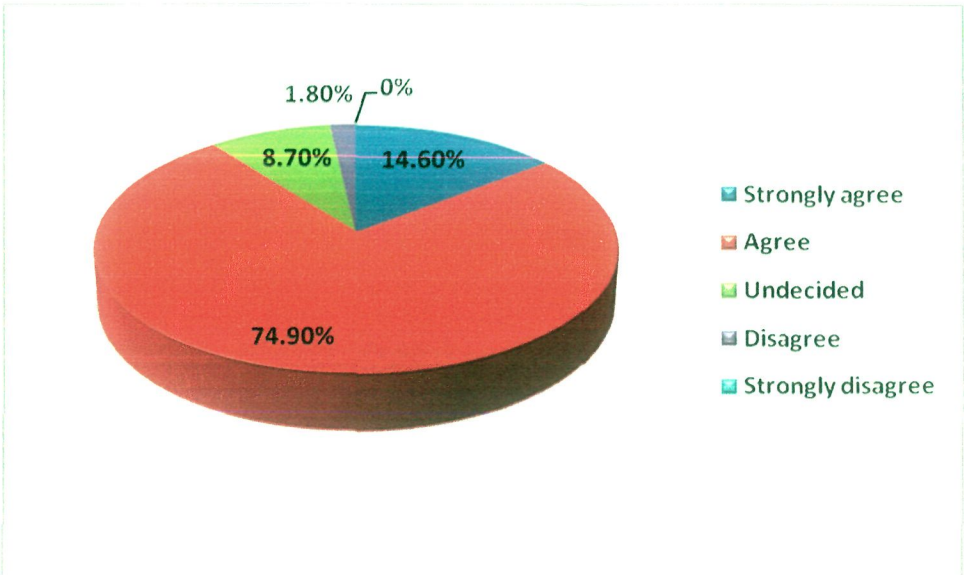
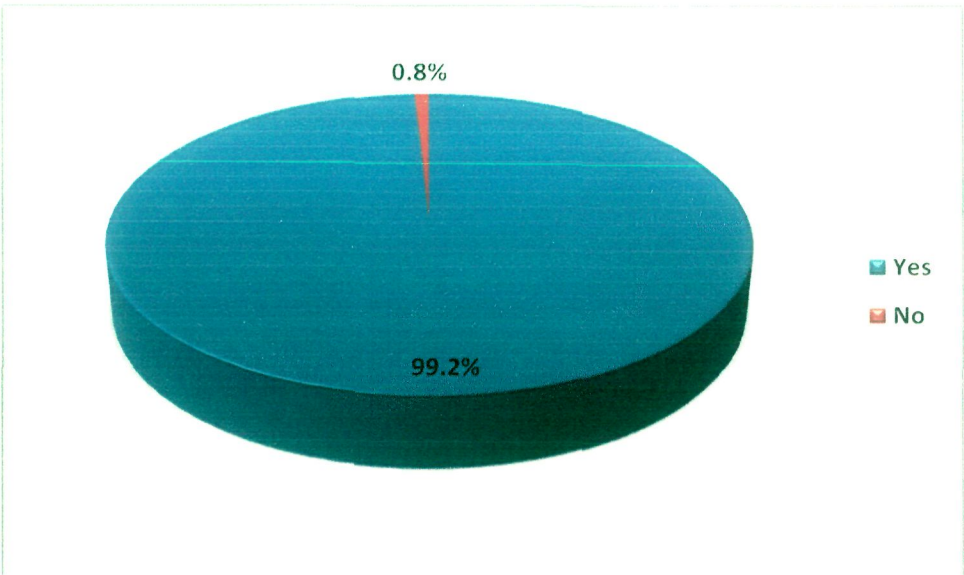


Fig. 6h: Graph showing inducement of fear in People due to Violence as per respondents.



out of the total sample size of 250 respondents and Actual percent column shows percentage responses of 219 respondents. Out of the 219 respondents who feel that emergency services have been badly hit due to violence, 32 respondents (14.6%) strongly agree with the statement, which accounts for 12.8% of the total sample size. 164 respondents (74.9%) agree with the statement which amounts to 65.6% of the total sample size. 19 respondents (8.7%) and 7.6% of the total sample population are undecided on the issue. 4 respondents (1.8%) and 1.6% of total sample size disagree on the issue and there is no one who strongly disagrees with the issue. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 6g.

It can be analysed from the table that most of the respondents 89.5% are of the opinion that emergency services have been disrupted due to violence. The emergency services in relation to health, chronic disease, accident and in relation to elderly people couldn't be availed by people because of disruption due to violence. The disruptions were in many forms, sometimes staff couldn't make it to reach the hospital, and sometimes the people were unable to reach the hospital in time because of violence.

The case of Jana corroborates with the findings, the young 16 year old son of Jana who was brutally tortured by the security personnel couldn't make it to reach the hospital because of snapped bridge on the way to Anantnag and they had to wait for the ambulance to come on the other side, may be had he reached the hospital in time a precious and innocent life would have been saved.

Although hospitals have played a tremendous role in treating wounded and slithered victims of violence, but the specialty care was limited to certain city hospitals that too in the capital Srinagar. Often the patients breathed their last on

the way to Srinagar. The doctors practiced in private clinics where patients are charged handsome money and the hospital OPDs are visited by people with minor illnesses. The hospital operation theatres happen to be in tatters even now, for major operations patients are either referred to private nursing homes or hospitals where the same doctors who referred them to the place operate upon them just for the sake of money. The steps have been taken by the government to stop private practice but that is only a lip service. The chronic disease patients have to shelve out hard earned money to cure their illnesses in these private hospitals. There are instances even known to the researcher himself where doctors happen to be in cohorts with drug store owners and medical labs. The patients are prescribed high antibiotic medicines of particular companies and advised to undergo a variety of tests which sometimes happen to be unnecessary only for the share that doctors get from these sources. The doctors in private practice seem to be always in a hurry to treat as many patients as they can, because more the number of prescriptions they give, more the share they get from drug stores and labs. This sometimes leads to faulty treatments and patients never get a relief, instead they get other problems added to their existing state of bad health, in the last resort they have to travel outside the state to know only that they were not diagnosed properly and never treated for the disease. It has happened a number of times when cases were reported in media that doctor's negligence cost the patient his life, sometimes even doctor forgot his scissors, gauze or other instruments in the open sections of the body where the patient was operated upon. There have even been cases where the post operative care was not provided to patients by negligent doctors. This way the holy profession of a doctor was turned into a dirty business by violent conditions

prevalent in the valley, although there are certain doctors who still follow the noble profession but their number is negligible. Secondly the load on hospitals increased so much that patients couldn't even get the beds in the hospital, the patients had been suffering from a variety of violence related diseases like trauma, anxiety, fear, mental illness. The absence of any trauma centre in the valley has added to the worries. The frequent searches and harassment of the staff by the security personnel in search of wounded militants added to the existing woes. These instances clearly point out the state of affairs of the medical services in the valley that seems to be in tatters and needs quick attention.

Table 6.15 shows respondents' responses with regard to non utilization of maternity services by women. The Table shows that out of the total 250 respondents, 238 respondents (95.2%) are of the opinion that women have not

Table 6.15
Non utilization of maternity services by women

Respondents view	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	238	95.2	95.2
No	12	4.8	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

been able to use maternity services satisfactorily due to violence either because of burnt bridges, non availability of transport at night or checks and cordons by army and cross firings between militants and army. 12 respondents (4.8%) disagree with the same, being of the opinion that violence didn't impede the availing of maternity services by women. The things become even more clearer from the following tables.

Table 6.16
Army movement, checks and cordons, cross firings as an impediment
in availing maternity services by women

Cases known	Frequency	Total sample Percent	Actual Percent
One	33	13.2	13.9
Two	29	11.6	12.2
Three	16	6.4	6.7
Several	95	38.0	39.9
Heard only	65	26.0	27.3
Total	238	95.2	100.0

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.16 shows the number of cases known to respondents where army movement, checks, cordons and cross firings have acted as an impediment in availing health services by women or sometimes delayed the same. Out of the total 250 respondents only 238 (95.2%) respondents have admitted of violence acting as an impediment in availing health services by women and 12 (4.8%) respondents deny the same, therefore, responses of only 238 respondents have been recorded in this table. The Total sample percent column shows percentage responses out of the total 250 respondents and Actual percent column shows percentage responses of only 238 respondents. Out of the 238 respondents, 33 respondents (13.9%) know only 1 case each where army movement, checks, cordons and cross firings have acted as an impediment in availing health services which happens to be 13.2% of the total sample population. 29 respondents (12.2%) know 2 such cases each which accounts for 11.6% of the total sample size. 16 respondents (6.7%) report to have knowledge of 3 such cases each which adds up to 6.4% of the total sample size. Curiously 95 respondents (39.9%) report to have knowledge of several cases of such nature and it happens to be 38% responses of the total

sample size. Again 65 respondents (27.3%) report of having heard only of such cases and it amounts to 26% of the total sample size.

The table shows that majority of the respondents report of having knowledge of cases where army movement, checks, cordons and cross firings have been an impediment in availing health services by women. The highest category happens to be the respondents who know several such cases and curiously the second most category happens to be the respondents who have only heard of such cases. Mostly people come to know of such cases either going through the ordeal themselves or a relative who has gone through the ordeal. Other instances happen to be the acquaintances, colleagues, neighbours and friends who narrate their experiences and share their experiences between them, that may be the possible reason that second most category of respondents only have heard of such cases. The heavy army deployment in the state has turned the valley into a war zone, the army often resorts to checks and sealing or cordons to locate militants and in the process the common man gets affected. During cordons people have to seek special permission for the patients to be taken to hospitals from the person in command of the operation and so is the case for expectant mothers, sometimes even police has to intervene to get these persons to hospital. In the cases where Police is absent, a mere denial by the army to move out of the area being may cost the patient or the expectant mother their lives. Movement of army in the night often forces the common man to be inside the houses mostly in villages. In cases of emergencies people find it unsafe to move in night where they can become an easy prey of violence. The fear and threat makes them to bear the extreme consequences which may lead to the death of child and mothers in certain cases.

Militants often engage army in surprise attacks and after the crossfire it is the locals of the area who bear the brunt of the uniformed men, they barge into houses beat men black and blue, sometimes kill innocent civilians, burn houses using gunpowder. The women are molested, beaten up and raped in extreme cases, this leads to abortions in certain cases. Since the life comes to standstill for hours after the violent incident, nobody dares to venture out of the houses. This clearly indicates the toll of violence on health services especially related to maternity services.

Table 6.17
Burnt bridges, snapped roads non availability of transport as
an impediment in availing maternity services by women

Cases known	Frequency	Total sample Percent	Actual Percent
One	28	11.2	11.8
Two	37	14.8	15.5
Three	22	8.8	9.2
Several	81	32.4	34.0
Heard only	70	28.0	29.4
Total	238	95.2	100.0

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.17 shows number of cases where burnt bridges, snapped roads and non availability of transport acted as an impediment in availing maternity services by women or sometimes delayed the same. Out of the total 250 respondents only 238 feel maternity services have been affected due to violence, the remaining 12 respondents do not feel so (Table 6.15), therefore, only responses of 238 respondents have been recorded in this table. The total sample percent column shows percentage responses of total sample population of 250 respondents and actual percent column shows percentage responses of 238 valid respondents whose responses have been recorded in this Table Out of the 238 respondents, 28

(11.8%) respondents know only 1 case each where burnt bridges, snapped roads and non availability of transport has impeded availing maternity services by women which account for 11.2% of the total sample size. 37 respondents (15.5%) know 2 such cases each which amounts to 14.8% of the total sample size. 22 respondents (9.2%) know 3 such cases each which amounts to 8.8% of the total sample size. 81 respondents (34.0%) know several such cases each which accounts for 32.4% of total sample population. And lastly 70 respondents (29.4%) claim to have heard of such cases only and it amounts to 28% of the total sample population.

The table clearly shows that majority of the respondents report of knowing cases where burnt bridges, snapped roads and non availability of transport acted as an impediment in availing maternity services by women. The militants used to burn bridges or snap roads in the process to restrict army mobility so that they could roam at ease, but that added to worries of people. For elderly people suffering from illness, it became a torture. For pregnant woman and wounded victims it became a death trap at most of the times. Either these fateful women delivered their babies on roadsides or they couldn't make up to reach the hospital and died on the way. The movement of the army in the night made it difficult to get a suitable transport to reach the hospital, the hospitals having limited ambulances or no accessibility to the area, because of snapped roads or bridges, couldn't be of any help either. Moreover, the telephone lines in many areas remained dead for most of the time during these years of conflict as a result the emergency help couldn't be sought from any quarter in time. The Table again

shows the pervasive nature of violence embedding its poisonous fangs into the very fabric of day to day life of common man and more deadly on women.

The valley has been gripped in the constant fear of unusual; there is uncertainty at every time. Nobody is sure what will happen the next moment. The fear has resulted in increased cases of psychological ailments especially PTSD, hypertension and depression ever on the rise. The absence of the trauma centers adds to the problems. The things become clear from the table below.

Table 6.18
Violence and fear

Opinion	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	248	99.2	99.2
No	2	.8	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

In table 6.18 responses were sought from respondents in relation to fear being induced in common man by continuous violence and movement of army and militants. Out of the total 250 respondents, 248 respondents (99.2%) agree that fear has been induced in common man because of violence and presence of opposing fighting groups. And only 2 respondents (0.8%) think contrary, who feel there is no fear being induced by violence. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 6h.

The table makes one to believe that people have not just suffered physically due to violence but they have undergone psychological sufferings too and that to a great extent. The fear of losing lives, losing houses, losing children, losing property and business, losing honour have added up to make people sick and

fearful of violence. Similarly the restricted movement, daily frisking and checking, the surprise detentions and disappearances, fake encounters have made the lives of people traumatic. The uninvited militant guest at the dead of the night took away the sleep of whole family for the fear army might get informed, the demand for money from the militant outfits (mostly from well off men for sustenance of the outfits), the recruitment by militants which often vowed youth of the family although not often forcefully but sometimes forcefully, the censor on the freedom of expression both from militants and army robbed people of their peace and all they were left with was fear of the ubiquitous monster of violence. The absence of any trauma centre has added to the vows of people and the cases of fear psychosis are always on rise. The worst part is that even children have been not spared, because most of the times they have witnessed the violence being inflicted upon their family and people, which left permanent marks on their psyche.

Every case in the study has a story of fear to be told, the fear is ubiquitous entity governing the life of every contemporary Kashmiri. Narendra Kaur is fearful of the past and even fearful of sending her daughter to the town for higher education for the fear of her safety. Jana is fearful of the sight of security men, who have snatched her two sons. Shakeela Akhter is fearful of the darkness of the night after her husband's killing in the dead of the night. Tahira is suffering from PTSD and is fearful of the worst outcome after her husband's disappearance. The grand children of Habibullah Mir bear another example that despite years of their father's death they still hold his bullet ridden body's photograph a pain they suffer silently and endlessly.

6.4 Violence, education and women

The educational sector has suffered a lot in the ongoing violence. The frequent strikes, cordons, firings and blasts often saw schools and colleges closed for several days together. Sometimes the affected children had to drop out of the schools too to work as child labours for running the family smoothly. Even the professional colleges and the University of Kashmir, the only university in the valley till recently couldn't function smoothly. The hostels and classrooms of these institutions were not spared the cumbersome search operations and detentions on mere suspicion. There are many school buildings and college premises under the illegal occupation of the forces which just add to the worries of the defunct education system. Innumerable school buildings have been also gutted and many schools had to operate under open sky where a rainy day meant a natural vacation often. Though the education system has lately been revived a lot, the new universities have been opened up, but the burden of fear and constant threat has rendered many efforts fruitless.

The valley has witnessed many school dropout cases almost everywhere in every locality, in every street and village. The Table below gives us the details.

Table 6.19
School dropout cases

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	176	70.4	70.4
No	74	29.6	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Fig. 6i: Graph showing School dropout cases known to respondents.

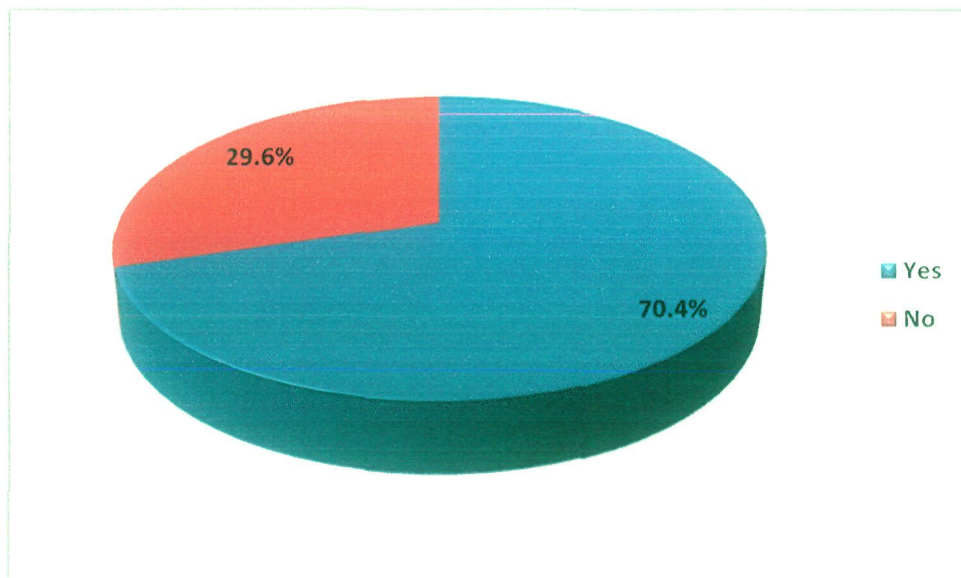


Fig. 6j: Graph showing possible reasons for school dropout as per respondents view.

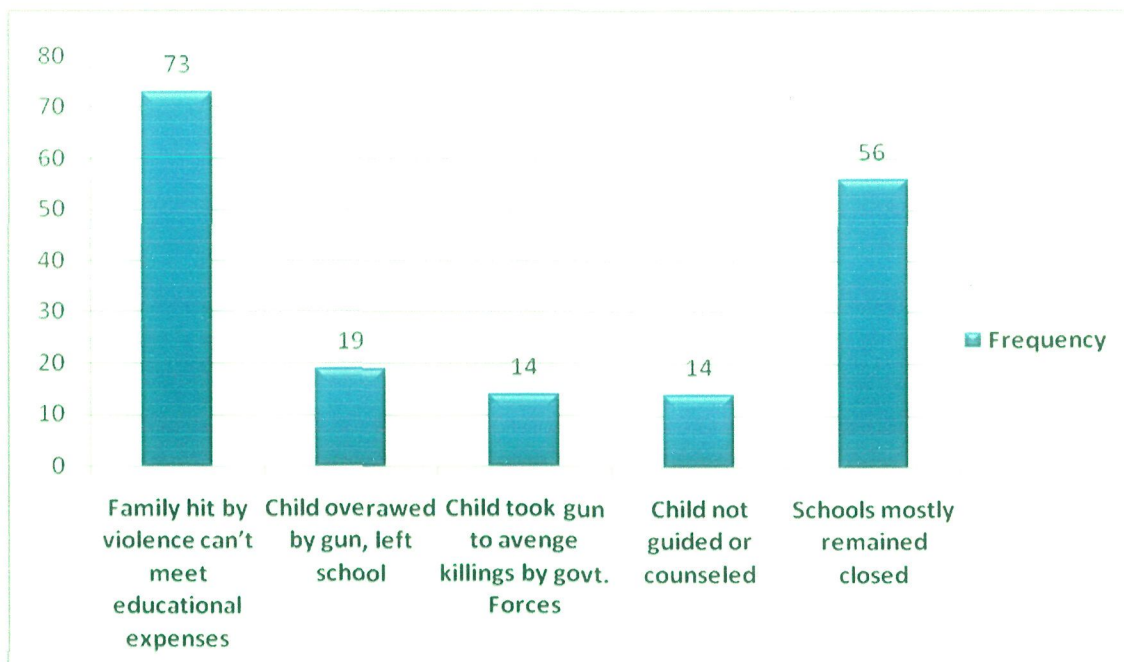


Table 6.20**Possible cause of school dropout as per respondents view**

Cause	Frequency	Total sample Percent	Actual Percent
Family hit by violence can't meet educational expenses	73	29.2	41.5
Child overawed by gun, left school	19	7.6	10.8
Child took gun to avenge killings by govt. Forces	14	5.6	8.0
Child not guided or counseled	14	5.6	8.0
Schools mostly remained closed	56	22.4	31.8
Total	176	70.4	100.0

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.19 shows the school dropout cases known to respondents. 176 respondents (70.4%) report of knowing such cases, while as 74 respondents (29.6%) deny having any knowledge of such cases. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 6i.

Table 6.20 shows the possible cause of school dropout as per respondents view. The Total sample percent column shows percentage responses from the total sample population of 250. The Actual percent column shows the percentage responses of 176 respondents who happen to have knowledge of the school dropout cases. 73 respondents (41.5%) are of the opinion that the reason of school dropout was family being hit by violence and thus couldn't meet the expenses of education, this amounts to 29.2% of the total sample size. 19 respondents (10.8%) believe child was overawed by the power associated with the gun and left school to join militants, this makes 7.6% of the total sample size. 14 respondents (8%) are of the opinion that school dropout was the result of the child picking up the gun to avenge killings by Govt. forces, which amounts to 5.6% of the total sample

population. Again 14 respondents (8%) believe that children were never counseled to join back the school and led to permanent dropout from the school, it adds up to 5.6% of total sample percentage. 56 respondents (31.8%) believe that schools mostly remained closed and resulted in school dropout, it adds up to 22.4% of the total sample size. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 6j.

The table clearly shows that the most popular cause of school dropout is violence hitting particular family which later couldn't bear the expenses of education. And second most popular reason is the frequent closure of schools. The other reasons appear to be mild. The violence has affected many families so much that children had to quit schools and work for family sustenance, the earning members of family lost their lives and the burden of sustenance felt on dependent family members, where the elder child happened to be the natural choice in most of the cases. This happens to justify the findings of the table 5.21 where most of the victims happen to be earning members of family as per respondents view. The chain follows and gradually all the children of the family leave the school to help the working members of the family. Second reason which acted as a catalyst for school dropout was frequent closure of schools either due to violent clashes between the opposing forces involved in violence , cordons or shutdown calls given by militants, the children remained off the school most of the times and sometimes left the school permanently. The other dimension to this problem may be the fear and threat which the people were feeling when the members of family were outside the household, where they could be an easy prey of violence. The children were also motivated by militants sometimes to join them, which eventually led to school dropout. The absence of any counselling service to bring

back these fateful victims of violence was always felt but no positive steps were taken in this direction.

The above findings find support from the case studies too, the case of Gowher from Mattan who being the eldest daughter and child of the family had to leave the school to fend for the family survival, the case of Parveena Akhter from Kulgam whose elder son left the school not because of any economic constraints, but because of the absence of father, where he found it easy to defy his mothers advices. The case of Narendra Kaur from Chattisinghpura is another example, who finds it difficult to send her daughter for higher education to the town, because of the looming fear and threat of violence, at the same time she is planning of sending his son outside valley, so that he can get his education away from strife torn valley.

The education system of the valley has itself been defunct for most of the times in valley, the loss of accountability and frequent violence gave the system a serious setback in these years of violence right from the primary to higher education. The things become clear from table 6.21 and table 6.22 which account for the effect of violence on education and in particular to women respectively.

Table 6.21 shows effect of violence on education as per respondents view. Out of the total 250 respondents, 63 (25.2%) respondents are of the opinion that fights between militants and forces often led to closure of schools. 118 (47.2%) respondents view frequent shutdowns, cordons, protests leading to closure of schools, thus affecting education. Only 7 (2.8%) believe frisking and checks leading to absention from schools. 12 (4.8%) respondents are of the opinion that education was restricted to theory and practical education received a severe

setback. Curiously 50 (20%) respondents are of the opinion that education suffered mildly and mostly remained unaffected. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 6k.

Table 6.21
Effect of violence on education

Possible reason	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Fights between militants and forces , schools closed	63	25.2	25.2
Shutdowns, cordons, protests, schools closed frequently	118	47.2	72.4
Frisking and checks led to absention from school	7	2.8	75.2
Education restricted to theory and practical left	12	4.8	80.0
Education suffered mildly , mostly unaffected	50	20.0	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

The table shows that the education has been mostly affected by shutdowns, cordons and protests leading to frequent closure of schools, 47.2% respondents believed so, followed by clashes between militants and Govt. forces which happens to be the second most popular reason affecting education, 25.2% respondents opine so. But about 20% people are of the opinion that education was affected mildly and largely remained unaffected. The reason for this mixed response may be that at the onset of violence the education system felt into disarray, the frequent shutdowns and closures affected the normal functioning of the schools, colleges and even the University of Kashmir. But, as the time passed the people began to look for options outside valley and even in valley the things began to improve for education after 90's. Different private schools began to flourish in almost all the corners of valley where quality education was being

Fig. 6k: Graph showing effect of violence on education.

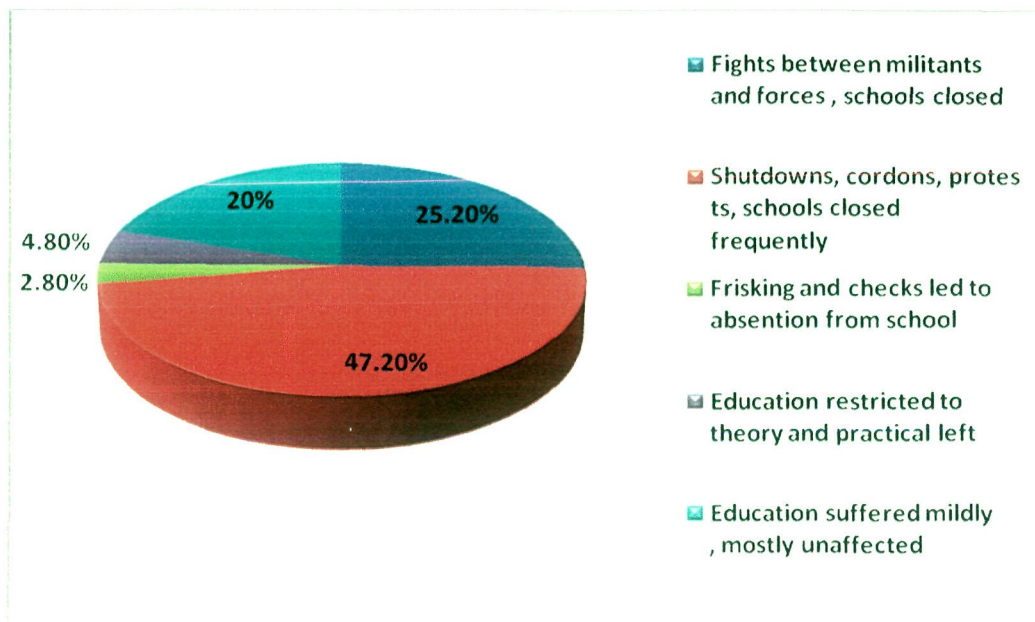
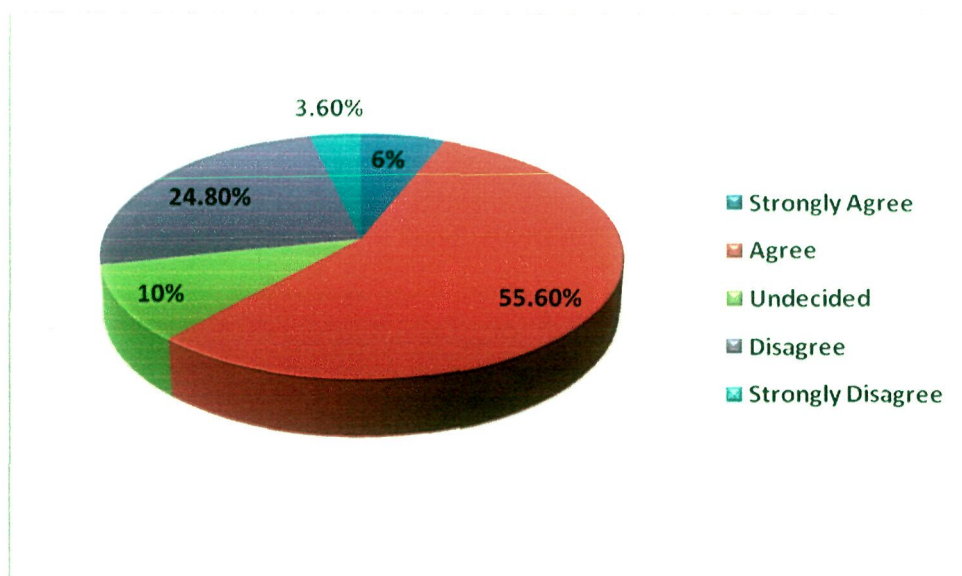


Fig. 6l: Graph showing effect of violence on women education.



provided. Now three more new universities have been opened up in the state which will definitely make up for the deficiency felt.

Table 6.22
Effect of violence on women education

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	15	6.0	6.0
Agree	139	55.6	61.6
Undecided	25	10.0	71.6
Disagree	62	24.8	96.4
Strongly Disagree	9	3.6	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.22 shows effect of violence on the education of women as per respondents view. Out of the total 250 respondents, 15 respondents (6%) strongly agree with the statement, 139 respondents (55.6%) only agree that the women education has been affected by violence. 25 respondents (10%) are undecided on the issue. Again 62 (24.8%) respondents disagree that violence has any impact on women education. 9 (3.6%) respondents strongly disagree with the statement. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 6l.

It can be concluded from the table that a total of 61.6% respondents agree that education of women has been affected. 10% are undecided on the issue and 28.6% disagree with the preposition. The female education was surely affected at first. People were reluctant to send their daughters for education outside local area. Most of the girls happened to end their education either at class 10th or 12th. The colleges happened to be in the cities and parents were reluctant in sending their daughters to far off places to join college or university. But conditions did not go

averse; people looked for avenues outside valley and even in the valley people took interest in educating their daughters bearing all odds. But still girls lag behind boys in literacy rate although they are fast catching up and sometimes out shining boys in different sectors. The census 2001 data shows that compared to literacy rate of the country which is 65.38%, the literacy rate of the state is 54.46%, at the same time the male literacy rate of the country is 75.85% and female literacy rate is 54.16% while as for the state male literacy rate is 65.75% and the female literacy rate is only 41.82% (Census, 2001).

The particular case associated with such a development is that of Narendra Kaur from Chattisinghpura who has decided to arrange for better education of her son outside valley but for her daughter she don't have such plans. And the change can be witnessed from the case of Nuzhat from Anantnag who has fought bravely and made it sure to arrange for the quality education of her daughter even if it meant her own harassment at several times.

6.5 Role conflict and Women

Another dimension of violence is the role conflict experienced by the women. The Kashmiri women used to be associated with certain roles as far as her domestic sphere is concerned. But the violence has forced her either to shun certain roles she used to play in the running of the household and everyday life or at times she had to pick up the new roles for which she was never socialized. The things get clear from the tables below.

Table 6.23 shows the effect of violence on women in terms of their free movement, role performance and economic activity. Out of the total 250 respondents 66 respondents (26.4%) strongly agree with the statement that

violence has affected women in terms of their free movement, role performance and economic activity, 145 respondents (58%) agree with the statement, 16 respondents (6.4%) are undecided on the issue, 18 respondents (7.2%) disagree with the statement and 5 respondents (2%) strongly disagree with the above statement. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 6m.

Table 6.23
Effect of violence on women in terms of free movement, role performance and economic activity

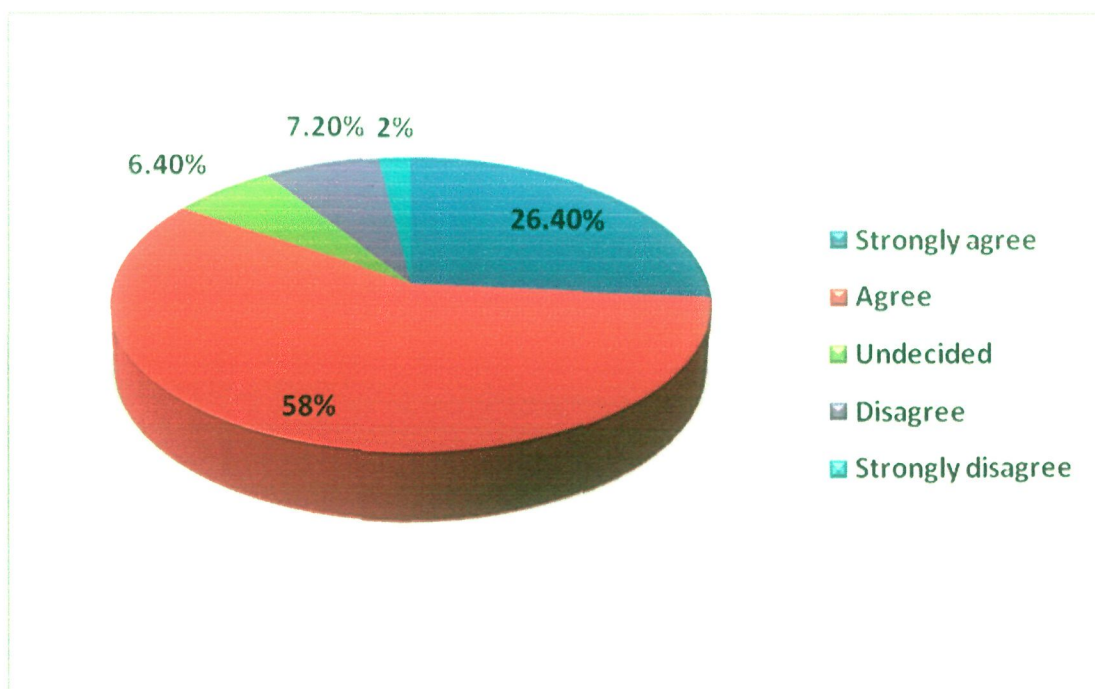
Effect	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	66	26.4	26.4
Agree	145	58.0	84.4
Undecided	16	6.4	90.8
Disagree	18	7.2	98.0
Strongly disagree	5	2.0	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

The Table clearly shows that the majority of the respondents about 84.4% confirm the fact that violence has affected women in terms of their free movement, role performance and economic activity. The Kashmiri woman used to have a freedom of movement in the domestic sphere and outside as she commanded her own respect and position. But she became an easy prey for various forms of violence during the last 18 years of conflict. She was secure inside and outside home but now she feels insecure even inside the home. Her movement was restricted even by the fear that her family might become the victim of violence and she could act as a shield for her man and sons. Most of the Kashmiri women in rural areas used to collect firewood and fodder from nearby fields and orchards to help men in running the family economy smoothly, but the presence of army men forced her to sit back in the secure confines of her home. In the process she began

to play roles different from the ones she played earlier. In case of emergency visits to the hospital during night she had to accompany the males to the hospital to ensure their safety and security. Similarly there were cases of internal migration from villages to city because of threat from militants or from counter insurgents, these village women who used to work in their gardens and orchards were the mistresses of their houses and in the process managed to add to the family economy, but at the new place they had to live in rented places and instead of economic independence they became totally dependent on their men, they were simply subjected to cultural shock. The migration cost them in other ways too, the children had to be admitted in private schools which put strains on the family budget further and it is these women who had to maintain the all odds. Sometimes

Fig. 6m: Graph showing effect of violence on women in terms of free movement, role performance and economic activity.



children defied family authority and got out of the control or became addicts often, this again added to the strains on the family and in particular on woman who.

happened to be the mother of the deviant child. This clearly points out the multiple ways in which woman became the victim of the circumstances of the time from which she could never escape or escaped with deep scars never to be healed

The cases of Tahira, Shakeela Akhter, Shakeela Bano and Nuzhat bear the testimonies to the above events. Tahira had to migrate and took up a new role of running the household for which she was quite unused to. Shakeela Akhter and Shakeela Bano both were turned from mistresses to paupers overnight, they had to work hard to fend for the family and maintain their households. The case of Nuzhat is again a testimony in this regard who had to leave the secure environs of her home and started living in a rented accommodation at the place of migration. She acted both as a father and mother for her children where she often found herself in tough stymies. The cases just highlight the changing roles and the resultant effects. These women often find themselves insecure and unsafe as the dusk creeps in.

Table 6.24
Unhealthy transfer of role from one status to another status

Respondents view	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	48	19.2	19.2
Agree	171	68.4	87.6
Undecided	23	9.2	96.8
Disagree	4	1.6	98.4
Strongly disagree	4	1.6	100.0
Total	248	99.2	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 6.24 shows the respondents view regarding unhealthy transfer of role from one status to another status within the family because of the violence and its all pervasive fear. Out of the total 250 respondents, 48 respondents (19.2%) strongly agree that there has been unhealthy transfer of roles within the family. 171 respondents (68.4%) agree with the statement, 23 respondents (9.2%) are undecided. 4 respondents (1.6%) disagree with the statement and again 4 respondents (1.6%) strongly disagree with the statement.

The table shows that majority of respondents 87.6% in total are of the view that violence and its resultant fear has resulted in unhealthy transfer of roles from one status to other status. As pointed out earlier, traditionally women used to maintain household and men used to work outside for living. The women not only maintained household but also used to help men during sowing and harvest in rural areas. But due to onset of violence things have changed a lot. The worst role conflict has been in the cases where men lost their life and the widows had to take up the additional roles of father, breadwinner and caretaker of the children. She even had to work for the sustenance of the family where she became victimised again in various forms. The emergency visits to some relatives or hospital in the night made it mandatory for the men to take the women along to ensure security and safety; this was the new role quite unheard of in the peaceful times. The men are forced to reach their homes before sunset because of the violent conditions prevalent in valley and it has sometimes resulted in role strains vis-a-vis job and home. Similarly village woman who used to work freely in orchids and fields now has to be accompanied by men always to ensure her safety because of heavy military presence, this had added to a new role for rural men. It was a taboo for a

Kashmiri woman to visit a police station but the violence has made it mandatory for her to play a new role of searching the disappeared or detained, where the visits to Police stations, Politicians, bureaucrats and even Army camps and Ikhwan camps appears to be quite usual. The children who happen to be lost into their own world of childhood even have not been spared, while being outside home for playing or schools it is the duty of the elder child to look after the younger siblings, a duty which appears to be a quite heavy burden for the little soul who seems to be distracted whether to play his/her game or to look after his siblings. It is pathetic to see during crossfire frightened children holding arms of their siblings wailing and running for safety. Such type of traumatic experiences leaves many with traumatic disorders. The people have not witnessed changed roles but role transfers too and it is the women who have been mostly experiencing the transfer of roles most.

The above findings clearly show the play of violence in the state, the Kashmiri woman happens to suffer on multiple counts at one go. Her identity has been bruised and torn apart; she has been tortured, molested, raped, sometimes sold and bought and subjected to emotional and economic insecurity. The women used to be the backbone of the movement because it was them who used to take care of the household after men left for work but in the process she became the ultimate victim. The Kashmiri women mostly depend on men for economic and emotional security while they look after the household, but during conflict they have borne all odds for their men. They acted as shields for their men when they were mercilessly beaten. They protested for the atrocities committed on men and were being hit by gun butts and canes. They ran from pillar to post to get their

detainee men out of the shackles of the prisons. They did each and every possible thing to get the disappeared back among themselves. The violence has put her into a variety of role conflicts. She has sometimes to do things she ought not to be doing. She has come out of the domestic secure habitat and is working to get her family the bread to eat. She has transformed from a shy and gentle being to a bold and hard woman. It seems she is progressing but the reality is that the emancipation she is witnessing is not because of self realisation and development but by force, the force being the circumstances she found herself to be in after being hit hard by violence.

Chapter 7

Agencies of Violence

The different agencies involved in violence include Government forces or Security forces and the militants. These two agencies are often engaged in mortal combats and in the collateral damage often civilian population are lethally affected or annihilated. There is loss of life and property and violation of basic human rights. The cases of interrogation, torture, kidnapping, custodial deaths, extra judicial killings, arson, molestation and rape are reported throughout the length and breadth of the valley. The large scale militarization of the valley has turned the valley into a war zone, there are around half a million soldiers stationed in the valley to combat a few thousand militants not exceeding 1500 to 2000 according to government estimates, lately the number has declined to few hundreds. The valley's landscape shows a marked presence of bunkers and army camps everywhere. After every 20 meters a soldier can be seen stationed. For an approximate population of 35 lakh of the valley there are around 5.7 lakh soldiers that is a soldier for every 5 to 7 Kashmiris(Public Commission on Human Rights, Srinagar 2005:1). Some estimates put the number of soldiers to be around 8 lakhs. The impact of the large scale militarization and the violation of the basic rights of the people have been already discussed in detail in chapter 5.

7.1 Government Armed Forces

The security forces constitute Border Security Force (BSF), Rashtriya Rifles (RR) a special unit of Army formed in 1993 to combat militancy, Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), Jammu and Kashmir Police (JKP), Indo Tibetan Border Police Force (ITBPF), Indian Federal Armed Force, Jammu and Kashmir Rifles (JKRIF), Ladakh Scout Special Service Bureau (SSB), National Security Guard (NSG). Besides these there are other armed structures like Special

Operations Group of Police (SOG) also called STF, Renegades (Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon) backed by RR, Special Police Officers (SPO'S) and several armed Village Defence Committees(VDC's) (Public Commission on Human Rights, Srinagar 2005:1). The most effective forces against the militancy have been BSF, Army (RR), STF of Police and the Renegades also called Ikhwanis. The modus operandi of these agencies has been simple just to act on mere suspicion, they could raid any locality, any house, and they could arrest and detain anyone on the grounds of suspicion. This tactics has led to the gross violation of human rights at times. The armed forces have adopted the policy of 'Catch and Kill' against the militants. Different operations have been launched from time to time like 'Operation Tiger', 'Shiva', 'Eagle', 'Cobra' etc to suppress the militant activity (Schofield, 2004:158). Besides a dreaded operation code named as 'Operation Ghost' was launched in 1994-95 to harass local population supporting militants. The army men in ghost masks and steel gloves would attack men in the dead of night and vanish in thin air. The aim was to demoralise people's will to support the militancy. The frequent cordons and searches were often resorted to sanitise the areas from the presence of militants and common man was often harassed to deter him from giving shelter to militants. The gender specific attacks were carried out to target the females as a psychological warfare tactics. The renegades or Ikhwanis (the surrendered militants) were employed by army to act with impunity in combat operations and harassing local population. In fact both Army and BSF were engaged in raising their own small armed groups to claim supremacy over each other in the counter insurgency operations. As India Today reports "They have become the centerpiece of the counter insurgency operations in the valley. Used

initially as intelligence sources to help in flushing out operation, they are now also being used as prowlers, they take part in armed forces armed counter with militants, in fact armed forces are raising small armies of surrendered militants in the valley and in the militancy affected areas of Doda are relying on them. To even neutralize hard core outfits like the Harkat-ul-Ansar, the Hizb-ul-Mujahidin and the Lashkar-e-Toiba all dominated by battle hardened Afghan mercenaries. The Police too are helping though in a limited way. These groups operate without any accountability. Wearing no uniforms, their member cannot be easily identified there is no one to whom civilians may register complaints” (India Today, March 1996). The Special Operations Group of Police raised in 1994 again is an example of dreaded force who has been involved in large scale human rights violations particularly fake encounter cases for the sake of promotion in cohorts with army. They have been involved in raising houses and in catch and kill policy against militants along with Army. All the units comprising the government armed forces have been involved in gross human rights violations against the civilian population. The torture, interrogation, molestation and rape have been used as an operational tactics to suppress the militancy. The disappearances, extra judicial killings and fake encounters just highlight the gravity of human rights violations resorted to by the forces. The special powers given to the security personnel give them immunity from any prosecution. The electric shocks, piercing of iron rods through private parts and body, burning on stoves, use of wooden rollers on the bodies of victims, using of hot iron on victim bodies, sprinkling salt and chili powder on wounds, hanging upside down for days together, keeping victims in ice cold waters for hours, molesting and raping women in front of their relatives and

family are frequently used methods of interrogation by the security agencies. This has led to death or deformity of innocent victims quite often. It can be concluded that the men given charge of maintaining the order and providing the security have turned out to be the predators.

7.2 Militants

At the start of movement in 1989 it is reported that there were 130 militant outfits operative in valley, the number has declined to only about 20 organizations most of which have only few hundred members. Some prominent organizations in 1990's are as follows (Schofield, 2004:247-48):

Al-Umar Mujahidin: The organisation was founded by Mushtaq Ahmad zargar alias 'Latram' from Awami Action Committee supporting Mirwaiz Umar Farooq. It has small indigenous membership and is currently dormant and non functional. No active cadres at present.

Al-Badr: The organisation emerged as an off shoot of Hizb-ul-Mujahidin. Indian National Daily suggests its base to be in Mansehra Pakistan and its supreme commander to be Bakht Zameen and Yusuf Balochi its J&K commander. The recruits are mostly Kashmiris from POK and Indian part of Kashmir (Times of India, January 3 2008:11).

Al-Barq: It was established in 1990 as a militant wing of Abdul Gani Lone's political party People's Conference, and supported independence. The cadre were indigenous Kashmiri. The organisation is nonexistent at present.

Al-Fatah: The organisation developed as an offshoot from Al-Jehad. Led by Zain-ul-Abidin, the organisation was pro Pakistan. Currently it is non functional.

Al-Faran: The organisation came to light after kidnapping of five foreign tourists from Pahalgam in 1995. It is believed to be splinter group of Harkat-ul-Ansar. The organisation is currently non operative.

Al-Jihad: Formed as a militant wing of Shabir shah's political party People's League. It happened to be pro Pakistan though Shah came out in favour of independence. The organisation is currently non operative.

Allah Tigers: The organisation was operative in 1990's. It forced the closure of bars, video parlours and cinema halls in the valley terming them anti Islamic. The organisation was pro Pakistan and is currently non operative.

Dukhtaran-e-Millat: Also called Daughters of Islam, the organisation emerged as a fundamentalist women's Islamic group. They prescribed strict Islamic codes for the women, forcing them to wear *burqa* and adhere to strict Islamic codes. The group supported Allah Tigers and never resorted to any armed attacks.

Harkat-ul-Mujahidin: Formerly called Harkat-ul-Ansar, its name was changed after being black listed by US state department being dubbed as a terrorist organisation.

Hizb-ul-Mujahidin: It is the largest indigenous group operative in valley. The organisation was formed in September 1989 with Syed Salahuddin (a MUF candidate in 1987 elections) as its commander. The organisation happens to be the militant wing of the political party Jamaat-i-Islami and happens to be pro Pakistan outfit. The organisation is one of the able operative organisations still operative against government forces. A few years back, the organisation had several thousand members, but currently a few hundred members are operative throughout valley.

Harkat-ul-Ansar: Formed in 1993 from two groups set up in 1980 to run Afghan refugee camps. It is a radical Islamist group supporting Pakistan. Following ban by US state department the group changed its name to Harkat-ul-Mujahidin in 1997. It was banned by Pakistan in December 2001.

Hizb-ul-Momineen: It is the only Shia militant group operative in the valley. It was founded in early 1990's as a militant wing of Maulvi Abbas Ansari's political party Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen. The group is currently non functional.

Hizbullah: Political wing of the Muslim League of the Kashmir. The group is currently non operative.

Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen: The organisation was started as Student's Liberation Front in 1989 with few hundred members. After its leader Ghulam Nabi Azad was killed, the organisation became a counter insurgent outfit called Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon (Renegades).

Jaish-e-Mohammed: It is radical Islamic group formed in 2001 by Maulana Masood Azhar. The group is responsible for numerous suicide attacks in Kashmir and is based in Pakistan. It was banned by US state department in December 2001 and subsequently banned by Pakistan in January 2002. Azhar was arrested in Pakistan in December 2001. The group is still operative in valley though having limited presence. According to a news report by Indian National Daily, the current strength of the group is 170 cadres with several hundred cadres in POK training camps. The group is having global affiliations with Al-Qaida. The major strikes of the group include 2001 Indian Parliament attack, 2005 Ayodhya attack and the attack on J&K Assembly (Times of India, January 3 2008:11).

Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF): The organisation was founded by Maqbool Bhat in 1964. Led by Amanullah Khan based in Rawalpindi, the organisation happens to be one of the earliest groups operative in valley and favoured independence. The group split into two groups in 1995 with valley based group led by Yasin Malik in Srinagar. The APHC recognised Malik as the legitimate leader of the group who had renounced militancy. After 1995 group decided to fight politically and shunned the gun. The group also had to face the wrath of other organisation like Hizb-ul-Mujahidin who dubbed them as traitors for a while.

Lashkar-e-Toiba: It is a radical Islamist group based in Pakistan formed in 1993. It has a majority of the cadre from Afghanistan and happens to be one of the dreaded groups operative in valley at present involved in mortal combats with Indian troops. The group was banned by US state department in December 2001 and subsequently by Pakistan in January 2002. According to a news report it has shifted its base to Muzzafarabad after the ban and its current strength is around 450 cadres in J&K besides thousands are in POK training camps. It is reported to have global affiliations with Al-Qaida. The major strikes include Indian Parliament attack of 7/11 and blasts in Mumbai, Malegaon and Delhi (Times of India, January 3 2008:11).

Muslim Janbaz Force: It was formed as a militant group from Peoples League of Shabir shah and is no longer existent.

Muslim Mujahidin: The splinter group of Hizb-ul-Mujahidin with pro Pakistan stance. It later became a counter insurgent group especially functional in District Anantnag.

Operation Balakote: The organisation was set up by Azam Inquilabi. In the 19th century, Syed Ahmed of Balakote, near Abbottabad, in NWFP (North Western Frontier Province) of Pakistan, had fought a losing battle against Sikhs. Inquilabi chose the name to signify the uneven struggle they were fighting against the Indian government. In 1995 Inquilabi returned to Srinagar and gave up the armed struggle. The group is nonexistent at the moment.

Tahrik-ul-Mujahidin: It is a small indigenous group belonging to Jamiat Ahl-i-Hadith school of thought. Presently the group is nonexistent.

United Jihad Council: It is the umbrella organisation of all the indigenous militant groups, set up in 1990. Formerly it was headed by Azam inquilabi and presently headed by Syed Salahuddin.

The militants have enjoyed a popular support since the beginning of the movement which gradually declined as can be revealed from tables 5.1 and 5.2 in chapter 5. The militants have been involved in gross human rights violations of international human rights and humanitarian law. They have been involved in several attacks targeting civilians particularly government informers, members of minority community, civil servants and political figures besides acting against Security forces. They have been involved in torturing and interrogating accused men of being informers. The revenge killing of Ikhwanis has sometimes led to indiscriminate firings by the militants wiping other innocent members of the families. The indiscriminate attacks by militants have led to civilian casualties at most of the times. The militants have been involved in hurling grenades at buses and using rocket propelled launchers to fire at the government buildings of the

civil administration, injuring and killing employees. Militants have been also involved in targeted bomb attacks against civilians in Jammu and elsewhere in India (Public Commission on Human Rights, Srinagar 2005:207). The militants have been involved in burning government buildings and offices and even burning bridges which led to large scale suffering of people. There have been reports where militants have been involved in inhuman slaughter of government informers and policemen, sometimes chopping of their fingers, nose, and ears and even at times butchering their bodies into pieces. There have been cases of rape and atrocities against women also reported against militants. At times militants have used the power of their weapons to force young women and their families into forceful marriages. We can conclude that though the militants happened to be the liberators but at times they have been also involved in the violence against people.

7.3 Militants, Security forces and the Infliction

Since both the agencies happen to be involved in violence against people in different ways and forms, there has been differential infliction on the part of different agencies involved in violence, the tables 7.1 and 7.2 below elaborate the things.

Table 7.1 shows the influential militant organizations functional in valley. Some fictitious organizations were also put in the list to check the reliability of responses. The respondents were asked either to tick Yes or No option against each choice. Out of the total 250 respondents, 246 respondents (98.4%) agree that Hizbul Mujahidin is an influential organization and 4 respondents (1.6%) do not feel so. Again out of 250 respondents, 121 respondents (48.4%) report JKLF (Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front) to be an influential organization and 129

Table 7.1
Influence of militant groups as per respondents view

Militant group	Yes	%	No	%	Total
Hizbul Mujahidin	246	98.4	4	1.6	250
JKLF	121	48.4	129	51.6	250
Lashkar-e-Toiba	239	95.6	11	4.4	250
Jaish-e-Mohammed	202	80.8	48	19.2	250
Al-Badr	52	20.8	198	79.2	250
Al-Nasr	9	3.6	241	96.4	250
Kashmir Tigers	-	-	250	100	250
Taliban-e-Kashmir	1	0.4	249	99.6	250
Al Mansureen	44	17.6	206	82.4	250

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

(51.6%) do not agree with the same. Out of 250 respondents, 239 (95.6%) respondents are of the opinion that Lashkar-e-toiba is an influential organization and 11 respondents (4.4%) do not feel so. Out of 250 respondents, 202 respondents (80.8%) vote Jaish-e-Mohammed to be an influential organization and 48 respondents (19.2%) do not feel so. Out of 250 respondents, Al-Badr has been voted to be influential organization by 52 respondents (20.8%) only while as 198 respondents (79.2%) report contrary. Similarly, Al-Nasr (one of the least known organization) has been voted to be influential by only 9 respondents (3.6%) out of total 250 sample size and 241 respondents (96.4%) disagree with the same. Curiously Kashmir Tigers, one of the fictitious organizations in the list has not been voted by even single respondent to be influential and all the total 250 respondents (100%) dub it as non influential. Again Taliban-e-Kashmir another fictitious organization in the list has been voted to be influential by a single respondent (0.4%) may be by default and 249 respondents (99.6%) do not consider so among the total of 250 respondents. Al Mansureen the least known organization has been voted influential by 44 respondents (17.6%) and 206 (82.4%) do not

consider so among the total of 250 respondents. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 7a.

The Table directly shows that among the militant organizations few has been active and influential in carrying out attacks on military and police. The most influential has been Hizbul Mujahidin followed by Lashkar-e-Toiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed and JKLF. Others like Al-Mansureen, Al-Badr, Harkat-ul-Mujahidin, Jamiat-ul-Mujahidin, Muslim Janbaz Force, Allah Tigers, Hizbullah, Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen, Muslim Mujahidin and numerous other conglomerations have been least influential or influential for a brief period of time and later lost the sheen in the course of conflict mainly because of loss of cadre. The latter two Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen and Muslim Mujahidin were utilized by government in counter insurgency operations which broke the back bone of the movement. The oldest surviving organization has been Hizbul Mujahidin, which has maintained its fierceness and ability to attack. The movement was started by JKLF in late 1989 but it developed certain differences with the Hizb ideology, the two have had even intergroup clashes. The JKLF followed the dream of independent Kashmir and Hizb followed the option of joining Pakistan, the JKLF was stopped being funded from across the border, because of dry coffers it couldn't maintain its existence. In late nineties some new organizations made their way into the movement like Harkat-ul-Mujahidin, Jaish-e-Mohammed and Lashkar-e-Toiba, they had even dreaded cadres from Afghanistan and other foreign countries, they could engage army for hours in long gun battles. This opened the chapter of new wave of violence in the valley. The Lashkar and Jaish could maintain their existence and are even now active in various areas of the valley. The suicide attacks have been

Fig. 7a: Graph showing influence of militant groups as per respondents view.

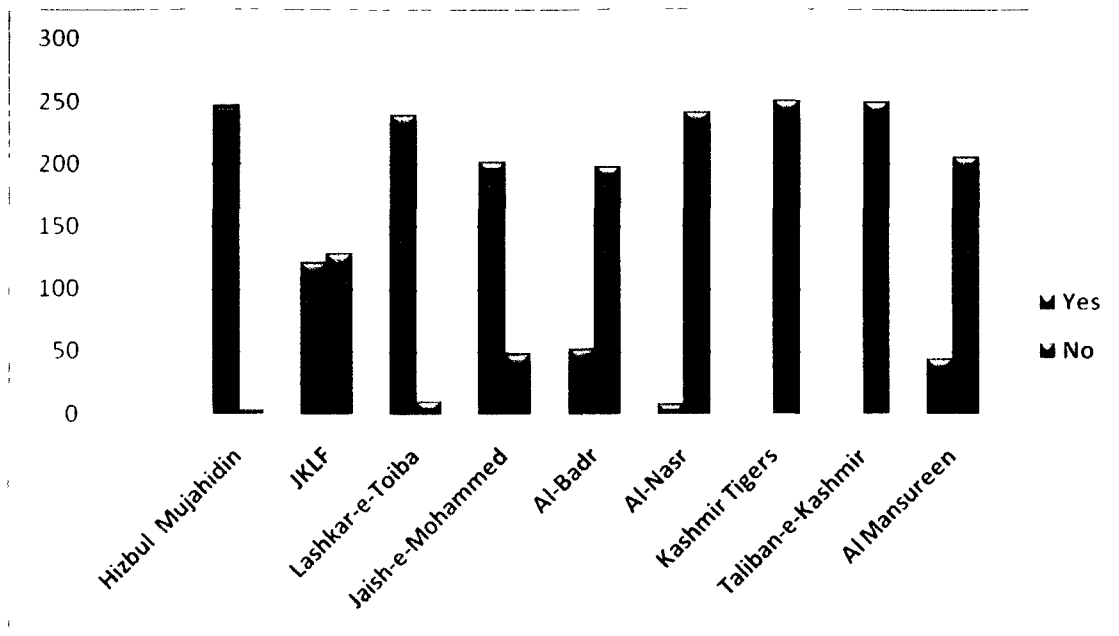
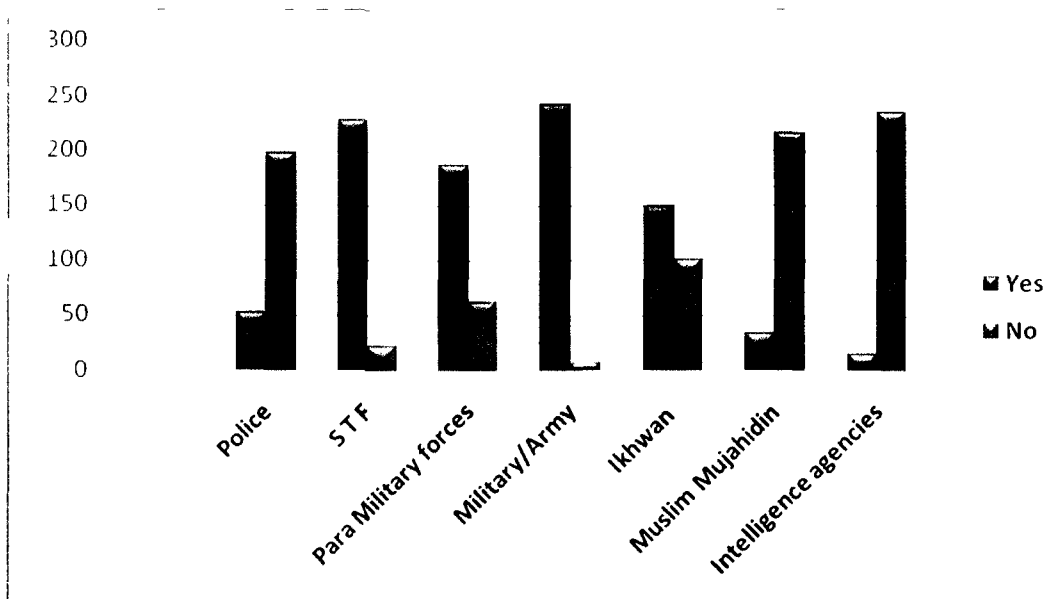


Fig. 7b: Graph showing interfering role of government forces as per respondents view.



mostly carried out by Lashkar-e-Toiba throughout the valley. Still the most popular organization active in the valley has been HM (Hizbul Mujahidin). They have been mostly involved in acts of violence against the troops and STF, but in the process most often locals get caught in, be it bomb blasts, grenade attacks, rocket attacks or landmine blasts. Besides these organisations act against various people like civil servants, renegades, informers, politicians who happen to be Kashmiris too thus affecting a Kashmiri household, a Kashmiri woman, a Kashmiri child and their subsequent existence.

Table 7.2
Interfering role of government forces as per respondents view

Security/pro govt. Agency	Yes	%	No	%	Total
Police	52	20.8	198	79.2	250
S T F	227	90.8	23	9.2	250
Para Military forces	187	74.8	63	25.2	250
Military/Army	242	96.8	8	3.2	250
Ikhwan (Pro Govt.)	149	59.6	101	40.4	250
Muslim Mujahidin (Pro Govt.)	34	13.6	216	86.4	250
Intelligence agencies	15	6.0	235	94.0	250

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 7.2 shows interfering role of various Govt. agencies involved in counter insurgency operations in the valley. The respondents were asked to either tick Yes or No against each choice. Out of the total 250 respondents, 52 respondents (20.8%) agree that police has interfering role with respect to common man and 198 respondents (79.2%) say no to this. 227 respondents (90.8%) say STF has an interfering role and 23 respondents (9.2%) say no to this out of the total sample size of 250. 187 respondents (74.8%) agree Para Military forces having played interfering role in the lives of people and 63 respondents (25.2%) disagree with the same out of the total 250 respondents. 242 respondents (96.8%)

say yes to the option that Military/Army has played an interfering role in the lives of people during these years of violence and 8 respondents (3.2%) deny so out of the total 250 respondents. 149 respondents (59.6%) say Ikhwan cadres (Pro-Govt.) have played an interfering role in the people's lives and 101 respondents (40.4%) deny the same out of the total 250. Muslim Mujahidin (Pro-Govt.) has been reported by only 34 respondents (13.6%) to have played any interfering role and 216 respondents (86.4%) deny the same out of the total 250. Lastly, out of 250 respondents, 15 respondents (6%) agree that intelligence agencies have played an interfering role in the lives of people and 235 respondents (94%) disagree with this view. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 7b.

The table clearly shows that the Govt. agency having the most interfering role is the Military/Army followed by STF (Special Task Force of Police), Paramilitary forces and Ikhwan. The other organizations like Police, Muslim Mujahidin and Intelligence agencies have been least active in playing interfering role in the lives of people as per respondents. The Army, Rashtriya Rifles (special force comprising men from different army regiments to fight insurgency), BSF, STF, CRPF and Ikhwan have been active to carryout various counter insurgency operations. The special powers bestowed on these armed forces gave them impunity to act on their own at most of the times without any fear of being accountable to any violent act committed by them. In the process, these men interfered and violated the rights of common man sometimes unwillingly and most of the times willingly. This created a sense of insecurity and fear among people towards the security forces, who proved to be the forces of destruction often. They could kill, detain, beat, torture, interrogate and loot at will wherever they got a

chance. The ruthless force of RR (Rashtriya Rifles) and STF (Special Task Force of Police) had little respect for any human rights violation and even resorted to fake encounters to get promotions, thus slaughtering of men became a profession to excel. The Ikhwan which has been a front runner in curbing the further rise of militancy were given free hand to harass, interrogate, kill or detain anyone with or without any reason. They not only targeted surrendered militants but even the families of active militants. They behaved as animal hoards without any care taker, no one in the elected government ever bothered to discipline this unscrupulous band of hired and paid goons. The Ikhwan outshined MM (Muslim Mujahidin) as counter insurgency terrorists, the latter couldn't sustain much. From 2004 onwards Ikhwan lost its power, mostly being wiped out by Hizbul Mujahidin and Lashkar-e-Toiba. The remaining cadres were either incorporated into regular army or Police. Some educated commanders of Ikhwan like Tahir in district Anantnag even have reached the ranks of JCO (Junior Commissioned Officer) in the regular Indian army and he will perhaps be never held accountable for the hundreds of murders, he did with his own hands. It can be concluded that the people have felt the interference in their normal lives at the hands of government forces most and in multiple forms.

The agencies involved in violence have been using different tactics as pointed above to follow their goals, yet the common element for both is violence and the victims happen to be innocent people. The things have been elaborated in chapter 5 where it has been affirmed who is the victim? Who is the perpetrator? What are the forms of violence people are subjected to? And the space of victimisation. The tables below show a further elaboration of the things.

Table 7.3
Abuses done on the part of militants as per respondents view

Form of abuse	Frequency	Percent
Rational in action, target government informers only	139	55.6
Target people having connection with government forces	109	43.6
Target STF, Ikhwan, Civil Servants MMcadre & politicians against their cause	219	87.6
Target common man besides government informers/agents	47	18.8

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 7.3 shows abuses done by militants on the local population as per respondents view. The respondents were asked to tick as many options they find to be the genuine forms of violence committed by militants on civilians. Out of the 250 respondents, 139 (55.6%) are of the opinion that militants have been rational in their action and have targeted only Govt. informers. 109 respondents (43.6%) of the total sample size have opined that militants have targeted people having connection with Govt. forces. 219 respondents (87.6%) of the total sample size of 250 report that militants target STF personnel, Ikhwan and MM cadre (Pro-government fighters), civil servants and politicians against their cause. Curiously only 47 respondents (18.8%) are of the opinion that besides informers and government agents common man has also been the target of militants. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 7c.

The table shows that the main target of militants have been the Govt. forces, informers, Pro-government forces, civil servants and the politicians against the cause of militants. But at the same time almost 19% of respondents are of the opinion that common man has also been the target of violence. The militants have been mostly involved in acts of violence against the local people who act as

informers of Army or STF, but in the process violence is felt by other family members of these informers be it fathers, mothers, wives, sisters, brothers, sons or daughters. There have been cases of harassment of the family members of informers. The men who happened to be in the Police department were also sometimes targeted being dubbed as anti movement. The well off and well to do men were often subjected to harassment by militants owing to demands for money and shelter for which they were sometimes given threats. This has also been a reason of internal migration in valley from villages to cities. The militants often pronounced the strict code of conduct being adhered to by women, the *Burqa* (women's head to foot veil) was obligatory for every adolescent woman while being outside home. The defaulters had to face gun shots or acid attacks in several cases, this changed the whole world for the affected woman for whom it not only led to loss of identity, but closed the doors of her marriage or divorce in certain cases where she was married. The families of politicians and their followers also bore the brunt of militants and they were forced to migrate to cities. The worst form of human rights abuses on the part of militants include the brutal torture of the victims, sometimes chopping off their body parts or out rightly beheading them. There have been reports of rape and forced marriages against militants in certain cases. The campaign against informers, politicians and more particularly Ikhwanis often led to the indiscriminate killing of their family members. The crux is that the victims none the less happened to be Kashmiris first. Therefore, it can be concluded that the local population has been subjected to violence by militants too although to a lesser extent, the majority of population remained at ease from

Fig. 7c: Graph showing abuses done on the part of militants as per respondents view.

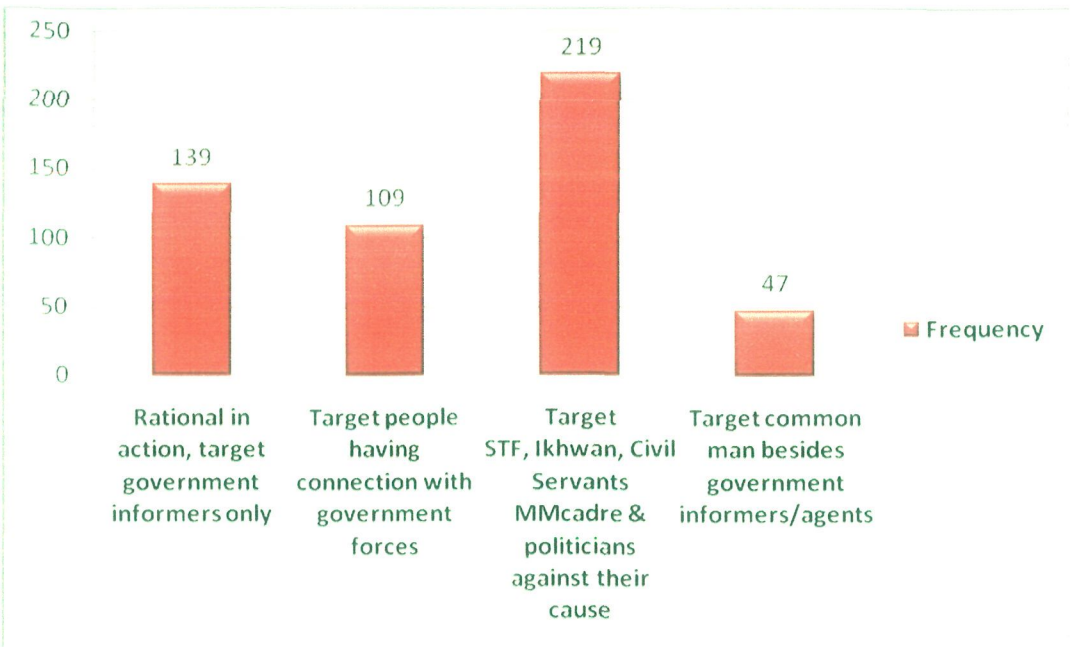
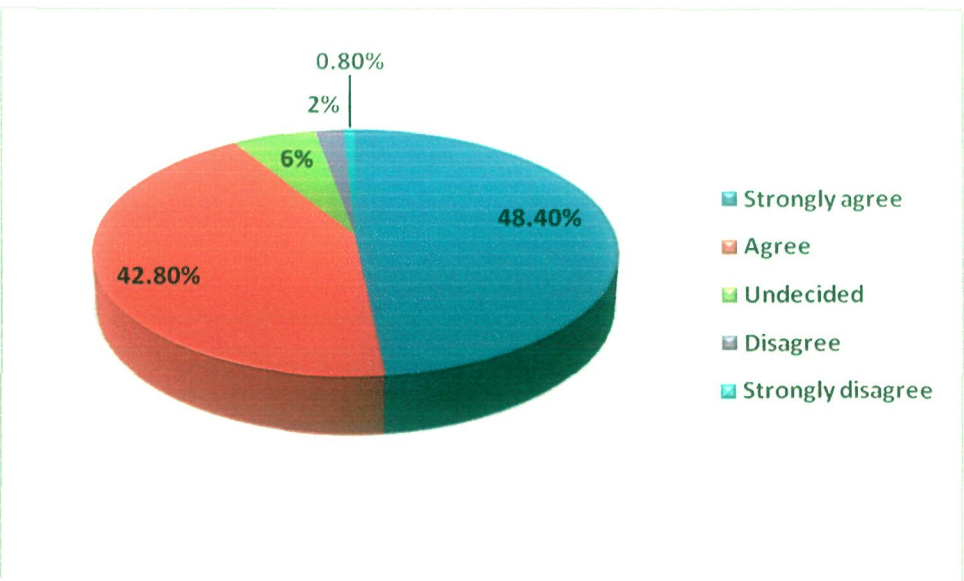


Fig. 7d: Graph showing excessive use of force by government forces as per respondents.



militants to be attacked or subjected to violence. There are other reasons for the latter, the militants always needed public support to sustain and they couldn't annoy the public who always supported them by word and practice.

Table 7.4 shows respondents responses pertaining to excessive use of force by Govt. forces. Out of the total 250 respondents, 121 respondents (48.4%) strongly agree with the statement that there has been use of excessive force by Govt. forces. 107 respondents (42.8%) agree with the same, 15 respondents (6%) are undecided on the issue, 5 respondents (2%) disagree with the statement and only 2 respondents (0.8%) strongly disagree with the statement that Govt. forces have used excessive force on civilians. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 7d.

Table 7.4
Excessive use of force by government forces as per respondents

Respondents view	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	121	48.4	48.4
Agree	107	42.8	91.2
Undecided	15	6.0	97.2
Disagree	5	2.0	99.2
Strongly disagree	2	.8	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Although violence has no fixed locus point, but it has been felt that the violence on civilians has been mostly perpetrated by government forces. There are testimonies galore, from people, from media and even from the army men who on their travel back home tell the horrific tales of terror they have unleashed upon the local population. The people have been subjected to a variety of human rights violations during operations conducted by the men in uniform. The special powers given to the army AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act) and DAA

(Disturbed Area Act) have given them impunity to act on their will without having any accountability for their crimes. As Tavleen Singh in an Indian National Daily 'the sternest action against Army has been suspension. In the court cases involving serious charges like torture, indiscriminate firing, illegal detention and deaths in custody, the punishments meted out to the erring soldiers range from 'severe displeasure recorded' or 'promotion stalled' (Indian Express, 28th February 1993)

The people have been subjected to various forms of violence as discussed in Table 5.9 (Chapter 5). Besides the houses have been raided in the dead of the night, valuables and money has been looted, men have been beaten black and blue, sometimes men are killed and houses are burnt in retaliation of firing by militants, sometimes houses have been raised to ground with IEDs (Improvised Explosive Devices) to flush out militants who often gave a stiff resistance, the daily frisking of passengers on board buses is a routine where anyone could get detained or beaten up for the minor error of not having an Identity Card. The women who happen to pass by these camps have been subjected to eve teasing often. The peaceful demonstrations have been often fired upon, the fake encounters and enforced disappearances have become the trait of armed forces. The list goes long but even after the elected government which has been often glorified through media as return of normalcy couldn't guarantee the security of common man. The dismal scenario is that even the elected members of the electorate can't guarantee people some sort of respite from army atrocities. There have been some education and health programs initiated by army for the welfare of people, but that has happened only a couple of years back, but even then when it comes to use of force they forget the lessons of brotherhood and nationhood which are often imparted in

these civilian programs. The brush with violence has just become the order of the day for a common Kashmiri and most of the violations often happen to be normal to him, because he has been now socialized to live with the violence for his survival.

The common man has been thus both inflicted by government forces and the militants, but there should be some difference between the two as far as infliction rate is concerned. Militants are just a band of warriors who have a loose central command and cannot be held accountable for the various acts of violence and sabotage being deviants or disgruntled men without any professional training who often act at their own discretion. But the government forces on the other hand are an organised group having a central command and are expected to follow certain rules guiding their conduct after having gone through professional training. But the things happen to be the other way as the table below reveals.

Table 7.5
Infliction by govt. Forces and militants

Infliction rate	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Government forces:90% / militants:10%	101	40.4	40.4
Government forces:75% / militants:25%	77	30.8	71.2
Government forces:50% / militants:50%	62	24.8	96.0
Government forces:25% / militants:75%	7	2.8	98.8
Government forces:10% / militants:90%	3	1.2	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 7.5 shows the percentage comparison of the infliction of violence on the part of Govt. forces and Militants respectively. Out of the total 250 respondents, 101 respondents (40.4%) are of the opinion that the rate of infliction

Fig. 7e: Graph showing infliction rate by govt. Forces and militants as per respondents.

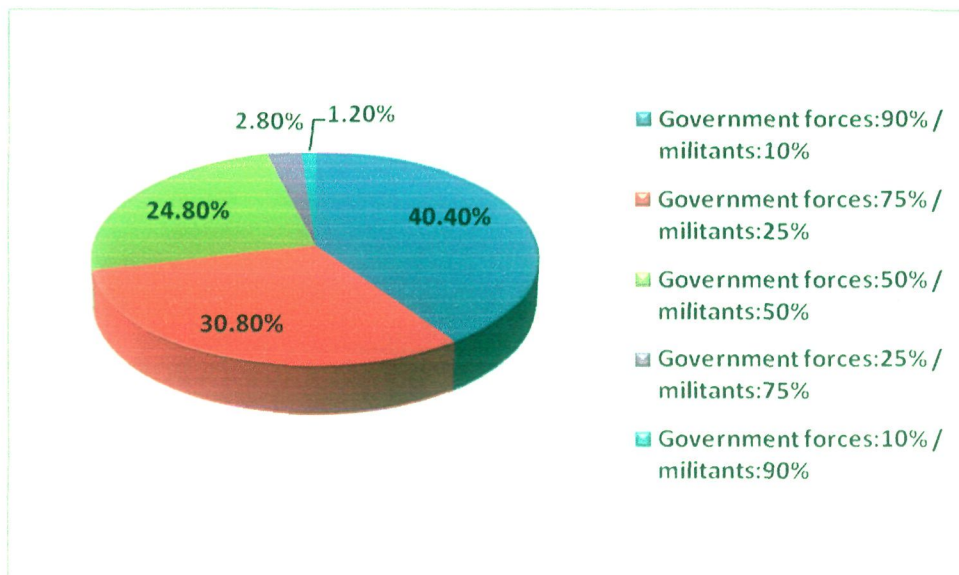
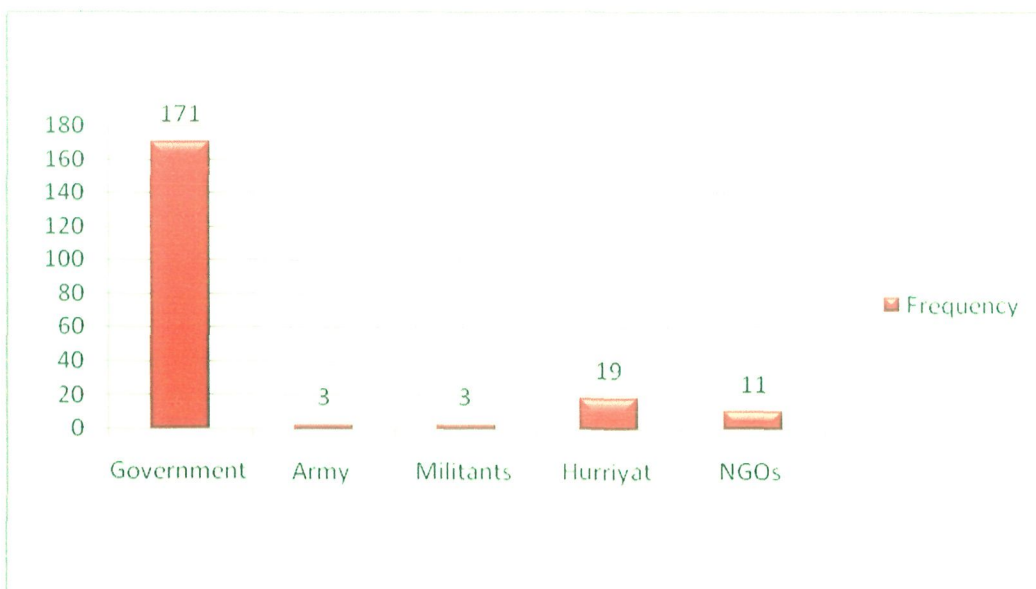


Fig. 7f: Graph showing agencies responsible for giving compensation to victims of violence.



of violence upon civilians has been in the ratio of 90% on the part of government forces and 10% on the part of militants. 77 respondents (30.8%) are of opinion that the perpetration of violence upon civilians has been in the ration of 75% on the part of government forces and 25% on the part of militants. 62 respondents (24.8%) believe that the infliction of violence upon common man has been in the ratio of 50% on the part of government forces and 50% on the part of militants. 7 respondents (2.8%) are of the opinion that infliction of violence upon civilians has been in the ratio of 25% on the part of government forces and 75% on the part of militants. Only 3 respondents are of the opinion that the percentage of infliction has been in the ratio of 10% on the part of government forces and 90% on the part of militants. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 7e.

The table clearly shows that the agency mainly involved in violence against people has been government forces as almost 41 percent of the respondents claim that out of the total violence being committed upon common man by various agencies, 90% has been committed by government forces and the rest 10% has been committed by militants, followed by another 30.8% respondents who feel 75% of the violence of civilians has been committed by government forces and 25% has been committed by militants. The table is just a clarification of the table 5.13 (chapter 5) which shows the various agencies involved in violence against people.

7.4 Compensation by Agencies

The victims of violence have been compensated most of the times, though there happen to be delays sometimes. But the basic premise for every compensation by the government is that the deceased should be a civilian and not

a militant. This differential attitude on the part of the government has led many families to the brink of starvation, like the cases of Shakeela Bano from Katreteng who being the wife of a militant couldn't get the relief from the government and is living a life of a pauper along with her children. Same is the case with family of the Gowher from Mattan who have been living a miserable life since the killing of her militant father by security agencies and have been denied the compensation or relief by the authorities. Even APHC has failed to help the families of the men who died for the cause and were paid glorious tributes as martyrs day in day out throughout the valley, but the suffering of their families never came on any body's agenda. There are various NGOs working in valley, but their humanitarian aid remains limited to certain areas and families they adopt. The things get clear from the tables 7.6, 7.7 and 7.8 respectively.

Table 7.6
Compensation given to violence victims

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	207	82.8	82.8
No	43	17.2	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 7.7
Compensation cases known to respondents

No of cases	Frequency	Total sample Percent	Actual Percent
One	42	16.8	20.3
Two	16	6.4	7.7
Three	13	5.2	6.3
Several	108	43.2	52.2
Heard only	28	11.2	13.5
Total	207	82.8	100.0

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 7.6 shows respondents knowledge of compensation given to victims of violence. Out of the total 250 respondents, 207 respondents (82.8%) have the knowledge of the cases where compensation was given to victims of violence and 43 respondents (17.2%) are unaware of such cases.

Table 7.7 shows number of compensation cases known to respondents. Since only 207 respondents out of the 250 respondents know of any compensation cases given to victims (Table 7.6), therefore, the responses of only 207 respondents have been recorded in this Table. Further Total sample percent column shows percentage responses of the whole sample size of 250 respondents and Actual percent column shows percentage responses of only 207 respondents. Out of the total 207 respondents, 42 respondents (20.3%) know 1 case each where compensation was given to victims which happens to be 16.8% of total sample percent. 16 respondents (7.7%) know 2 cases each where compensation was given to victims, which amounts to 6.4% of the total sample size. 13 respondents (6.3%) know 3 cases each where compensation was given to victims, which adds up to 5.2% of the total sample population. 108 respondents (52.2%) know several cases each where compensation was given to victims, which amounts to 43.2% of the total sample size. And 28 respondents (13.5%) report of having heard of such cases and it amounts to 11.2% of the total sample size.

Table shows that most of the respondents know the cases of compensation given to victims of violence. The various agencies involved in giving compensation have been discussed in table 7.8

Table 7.8
Agency responsible for giving compensation

Agency	Frequency	Total sample Percent	Actual Percent
Government	171	68.4	82.6
Army	3	1.2	1.4
Militants	3	1.2	1.4
Hurriyat	19	7.6	9.2
NGOs	11	4.4	5.3
Total	207	82.8	100.0

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Table 7.8 shows various agencies responsible for giving compensation to victims of violence. Out of the total sample size of 250 respondents only 207 respondents report to have knowledge of compensation cases, therefore, the responses of only 207 respondents have been recorded in this Table. Further Total sample percent column shows percentage responses of the whole sample size of 250 respondents and Actual percent column shows percentage responses of only 207 respondents. Out of the total 207 respondents, 171 respondents (82.6%) say government to be responsible for giving compensation, which happens to be 68.4% of the total sample size. 3 respondents (1.4%) say army to be responsible for compensating the victims, which happens to be 1.2% of the total sample size. Again 3 respondents (1.4%) say militants to be responsible for compensating the victims, which happens to be 1.2% of the total sample size. 19 respondents (9.2%) say Hurriyat having compensated the violence victims and that adds up to 7.6% of the total sample size of 250 respondents. And lastly 11 respondents (5.3%) report NGOs having compensated the victims of violence and that adds up to 4.4% of the total sample population of 250 respondents. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 7f.

The table makes it evident that the majority of compensation cases have been dealt with by the government. The government has compensated majority of the families who lost their kith and kin in violence monetarily. In certain cases where the victim was a government employee the job was passed on to the literate member of the family. There were cases also where even the literate member of the family of illiterate victim was provided with a job, but that happened in the initial phase of violence. Later compensation was restricted to ex gratia relief in the form of money. The sanction of the money from the government offices to its disbursement took months together and sometimes the real beneficiary of the amount could get only a meager sum of the total amount either because the money was embezzled by corrupt clerks or the other family members and kin got the money divided among themselves. This proved to be detrimental for the women who had to maintain their household after the death of men who happened to be the sole bread winners of their respective families. Further the death of the militant who also happened to be Kashmiri was never compensated, if ever compensated, the agency used to be the All Parties Hurriyat Conference who could help the family with the little amount they could arrange at the moment. Therefore, the widows of the militants suffered more and were in dire need of resources always to run their families which appeared to be in ruins. The cases of Narendra Kaur, Parveena Akhter, Joginder Singh and Shakeela Akhter who happened to be the victims of violence were duly compensated for the non involvement of the deceased in the subversive activities against government establishment. But at the same time the cases of Gowher, Habibullah Mir, and Shakeela Bano are examples where the government has been partisan to compensate owing to allegiance of the

deceased members to militants, though the survivors happen to be the state subjects and innocent victims of violence and circumstances surrounding them. To conclude we can say that government has been quite supportive in compensating victims, but again it needs to be reminded that there can be no compensation for the precious lives that have been lost in this long and unending violence. The best compensation for the people appears to be the return of peace, which unfortunately seems to be very far away yet.

It may be concluded that the common man has been affected by various agencies involved in violence though to a varied extent and differentially. The modus operandi adopted by the combatant agencies grossly under estimate the rights of people. There is blatant violation of international humanitarian laws and basic human rights of people. The worst part is that people have been subjected to violence more by security personnel who are deployed for their safety. The people have been compensated for the loses, but the compensation happens to be case specific where the families of militants are left out to face the brunt of violence again and again in various forms. Still it can't be ruled out that the agency mostly compensating the victims happens to be the state government of Jammu and Kashmir.

7.5 Possible Solutions

The conflict has to reach its end and for that peace has to be established. The options seem to be varied, but the common man wants peace to be established at any cost. Therefore, the respondents were asked to point out the best possible option for establishing peace in the region and thus leading to final solution as shown in table 7.9.

Table 7.9
Possible ways of Final Solution

Solution	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
UN resolutions	120	48.0	48.0
Peoples cooperation with govt. against militants	6	2.4	50.4
Peace talks should proceed further between India & Pakistan	35	14.0	64.4
Intervention by super power	65	26.0	90.4
People should motivate militants to drop the gun	24	9.6	100.0
Total	250	100.0	

Source: Field work by researcher (March to August) 2007

Fig. 7g: Graph showing possible ways of solution to the conflict as per respondents.

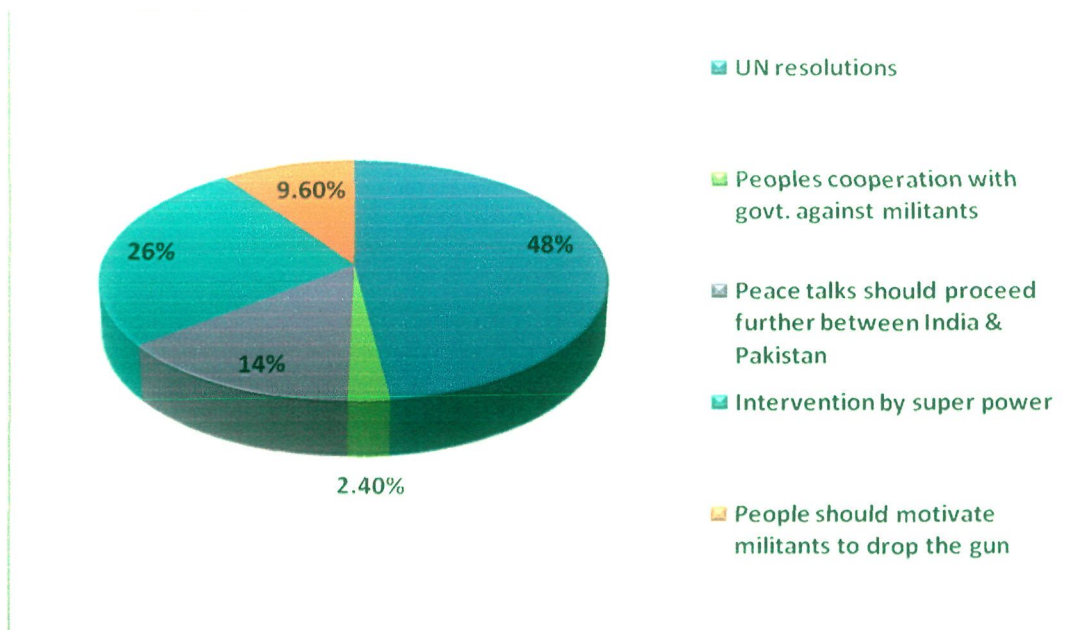


Table 7.9 shows the most probable solution for the problem as per respondents view. Out of 25 respondents, 120 respondents believe that the following of UN resolutions on the issue is the most plausible solution to the current problem. 6 respondents (2.4%) are of the opinion that the only solution to the current problem is peoples cooperation with government forces against

militants. 35 respondents (14%) have faith in peace talks between India and Pakistan which they think should proceed further for total peace. 65 respondents (26%) are of the opinion that some super power should intervene in the matter to bring about the final solution. And 24 respondents (9.6%) think that the solution to the problem should proceed from shunning of the gun by militants to peaceful final solution. The graphical representation of the table is given in Fig. 7g.

Table shows that majority of people don't have faith in either Pakistan or India and think that the best solution will be to follow UN resolutions on the Kashmir dispute. The UN resolutions aptly call for the plebiscite to be held, an understanding which was reached between two nations at the time of partition. The Indian government has backed off from such a solution. So looking for the other solutions we find people vote for super power intervention, but that is not feasible too right now owing to the state of politics in both nations. The governments of both the countries are reluctant for such a solution. There have been a series of peace talks on the Kashmir issue starting from Agra summit, followed by Lahore summit but neither party to the conflict seemed to budge a bit on their stand and secondly the people whose fate was to be decided didn't find any participation in such processes. The other feasible option before people sounds to be the dropping of gun by militants and starting the struggle afresh with non violence and protest as the main weapon. The weird issue of Kashmir is eagerly waiting for a solution for the lakhs of lives that suffer day in and day out throughout the length and breadth of Kashmir. India and Pakistan should shun the inhibitions and unfurl the flag of peace on the trouble torn region and that will be the beginning of new phase of conflict resolution in the south Asia, which will

pave seeds for the development of the whole region and especially India and Pakistan.

7.6 Case studies

Case 1: A widow with her young children facing the odds of violence.

Respondent: Narendra Kaur
Age: 35 years.

Narendra Kaur is a 35 years old widow having 3 children. The family was living a peaceful life in a remote village of Chattisingpora, a Sikh village in the district Anantnag of Jammu and Kashmir. On the fateful night of 20th March 2000, some uniform clad men descended on the village and in one of the dreaded massacres of the valley 35 people were killed and one among them was Kaur's husband. On being asked who the killers were, she pleaded anonymity, but perhaps she didn't want to disclose the real identity of perpetrators for reasons unknown. After her husband's death she had to shoulder the responsibility of the household and her children. She didn't lose any property as local Sikh community helped her to consolidate her hold on it. But she had to arrange for the labour and other related works on the land which her husband used to do. She feels quite stressed with the burden of running her household and the extra burden of looking after the needs of the family and the agricultural work. She has got a compensation of Rs.2 lakh and a government job for which she is thankful to the government. She claims that things would have been quite tough for her to run the family, had government not provided her with the job. The monthly income of Rs. 3,000 from the job although at times seems inadequate for her to run the family business and demands of her children, but at the same time it assures her security and safety

from being dependent on some other person and maintaining her honour. She claims that she was never approached by any NGO and neither has she received any compensation from the Non Government sources. The village has a presence of a CRPF camp and she feels that these men are for their security. Although her children are getting education in the local school, she is apprehensive about their future. She feels that she cannot afford the expenses of their higher education. At the same time she is not sending her daughters for the higher education to the town, it is not because of any gender discrimination but due to risks involved and the fear of violence. She feels positive about the education of her son, whom she is going to send outside the state where he can study peacefully. She has never felt insecure in her community being close knit and well bonded, but at the work place she has to avoid the amorous advances of men often.

She points out that the relations of the community with the Muslims of the area had been cordial, but after the fateful night of the massacre things have changed a lot. Both communities used to visit each other's houses and worked together on the fields but that has all stopped. The seeds of mistrust have been sown between the two communities. Although she feels bad about it, but at the same time she observes it was logical and inevitable. She feels nostalgic about the past and wishes that peace returns to the valley soon, so that violence ceases to exist.

Case 2: A whole family vanishes in the specter of violence.

Respondent: Mushtaq Shah
Age: 28 years.

Mushtaq Shah tells a local in the Ashjipora locality of the Anantnag town narrated a gory tale of the family of Abdul Gaffar. Gaffar's son Mushtaq was associated with the Harkat-ul-Mujahidin. One fateful day he saw a Hizb member hiding his weapon in the paddy fields of the area, who shortly afterwards got killed in an encounter. He recovered the hidden weapon and refused to return it to the Hizb-ul-Mujahidin as there was no proof to whom the weapon belonged to. The differences between his organisation and the Hizb-ul-Mujahidin got worse until some days later he was summoned by the local Hizb commander, what happened thereafter is not known to anybody, but the next day his body was recovered from the main road of the locality lying on the bridge. The father of the deceased couldn't tolerate the death of his only son and died of heart attack three days later and a week later the wife of Abdul Gaffar also died a silent death. The incident sent a shock wave in the vicinity of the locality, but nobody could complain for the fear of their lives. But the barren house of the Gaffar bears the testimony of the victimization of the family.

Case 3: A widow narrates her tale of despair and survival being hit by violence.

**Respondent: Parveena Akhter
Age: 38 years.**

Parveena a resident of Kulgam is a 38 years old widow having two children. Her husband Mohamed Yaqoob Zargar was a businessman by profession. In June 1991 after a heavy attack on the local Border Security force (BSF) Camp, the security forces went berserk, resorted to beating and burning of houses in the town. Yaqoob's elder son an infant at the time couldn't make it to reach the home even after an hour of the attack. Becoming restless for his son's

well being, Yaqoob came out of his house searching for his son. In the street outside his house, he was intercepted by the moving BSF column and was cold bloodedly murdered outside the town area in a barren land. Although Yaqoob was killed in a fake encounter, the state run media termed it as a cross fire killing. The things changed for Parveena ever thereafter. Her brother Riyaz Ahmad took up arms after the incident in retaliation to the killing, after some time he also got killed in a gun fight with the troops. She was just 21 years at the time, she couldn't cope up with the pressures of maintaining the household and had to return to her father's place. She was lucky enough to get a compensation of Rs, 1, 00,000 and a government job. Her in-laws convinced her to return back and she had to live in a separate house constructed by her husband prior to his death. Things went smooth for the time being, although she often felt lonely and nostalgic about her husband, shattering her emotionally. She earned around Rs. 10,000 a month from the job, sufficient to maintain her household and children. She could have got easily remarried with a government job in hand, but for her children she sacrificed desires and decided not to marry again. Her only hope were her children, she got a firm resolve to get them the best education. The things took a new turn for her when she was approached by her brother in law almost double her age for marriage. She felt awkward and choked as the man she trusted and most often relied upon turned out to be a deceitful sympathiser. She was once again shattered and refused his amorous advances. At office she also had to face the music of amorous men, who were always in search of the opportune moment to exploit her. Although she was reluctant to narrate the details, but it seems she managed to save her honour some way. The next blow to her came when her elder son left studies

and decided to do his father's business, she tried to convince him to continue his studies, but being a grown up boy now he refused to listen to her and openly defied her orders. In the end she had to budge before him and shelve out the saved money to get his business started. For the younger son she is yet firm to make him continue his studies, but at the same time she is apprehensive as her sons don't listen to her anymore and often defy her authority. She asserts that it is not their fault even, because they have faced a disturbed childhood being without father who could take care and look after them.

At domestic front, she had to face problems also. Although in the initial years after her husband's death, her brother in law and his sons would take care of her land and orchid. But gradually the responsibility had to be shouldered by her. She is happy that she has maintained her household and property for her children, but at the same time she feels sorry for her children who always felt the absence of their father. Although she is indifferent to answer any query regarding the future of the state, but she prays for the peace so that there are no more widows like her to get choked in the specter of violence. But for the pain she has suffered will haunt her forever.

Case 4: A woeful tale of a mother who lost her two sons in the violence.

Respondent: Jana
Age: 62 years.

Jana is a 62 years old lady, a resident of Kulgam. The mother of four sons of whom two lost their life in the conflict. She starts quite feebly to tell her woeful tale. Her middle son Manzoor Ahmed Wani was an active cadre of separatist outfit Hizb-ul-Mujahidin, who died fighting with Indian soldiers at Qazigund in January

1995. While recuperating with this shock, barely six months later her house was raided by a joint party of Rashtriya Rifles of Indian army and pro government fighters of Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon. Her youngest son Mohamed Yaqoob Wani, a mere 16 year old youth who was going to appear in the 10th class examination next day was thoroughly rounded up by the army. What followed after is a bewildering story of torture and human rights abuse narrated by a sobbing mother. Not being satisfied with Yaqoob's answers, the security personnel began to beat him to pulp. Jana was forcibly locked inside the room and innocent Yaqoob was just crying for help. Not satisfied with beating him, the security men got hold of a boiling vessel of water and poured it over the tender soul; they even forced him to drink the boiling water. From a close by channel the security men took a bucket of cold water and poured it again over the Yaqoob, then after wards he was laid on bricks and two Ikhwan cadres started to jump on his body. Jana still remembers the shrieks of her son and her agony seems irreparable. The security men left Yaqoob half dead and fled the scene. Yaqoob was rushed to nearby hospital from where seeing his critical condition; he was referred to Srinagar for immediate treatment. The snapped bridge at Kaimoh (burnt by Militants) added to the woes and they had to wait for another 30 minutes for the ambulance to arrive from the other side of the river. Yaqoob breathed his last while on the way to Srinagar. Although her eldest son Qaiyoom Wani managed to run the family affairs, but for Jana the loss of her two sons and especially Yaqoob gives him the constant pain, which she says only death will heal. She is suffering from high blood pressure and depression. Even the name of the army sends shivers down her spine.

On being asked whether she got any compensation, she refuses to have received anything from any agency. “Being the mother of a militant and without any special contacts how one could get the relief from the government”, says Jana. Besides she asserts that she can’t sell the blood of her dear sons. On the future state of affairs she says that for her the life has seized to exist, but peace should return and that peace should honour the martyrdom of her two sons.

Case 5: A gang rape victim narrates her woeful tale.

Respondent: Mubeena Akhter
Age: 42 years.

Mubeena Akhter is a 42 years old housewife of Lissar village of Anantnag. It was very difficult first of all to get anything out of her, but a blessing in disguise came in the form of her husband, who persuaded her to tell her gory tale of exploitation. Mubeena got married to Abdul Rashid 17 years back in May 1990. It was on her wedding night that the worst she had expected from life happened to her. After the departure of the marriage party from the bride’s place, it was stopped by BSF troopers stationed near Hakhoora village. The soldiers ordered the marriage party to switch of the lights of the bus and fired indiscriminately without any reason says Mubeena, killing one person on the spot and injuring several others including the groom Abdul Rashid. What followed was a dastardly act, a tale of torment and shattered identity. She with a stiff face narrates that she along with her maternal aunt, Aamina Begum were dragged to the nearby fields by their legs and repeatedly raped for about 2 hours. After that she was pumped with bullets injuring her critically. She happened to be in the prime of her youth at that time just 24 years old and her aunt a 32 year old lady. She scornfully says “what

worst can a bride expect on the first night of her wedding, beasts tearing her apart and honouring her with a label of impure". The incident shook her existence, she lost her identity and meaning in life. She is thankful to her husband who in spite of all this brought her to home and gave her courage to live along with all this pain. She says with tears flooding her eyes and hoarse voice that she didn't want to live anymore, but it was the constant support from her husband that made her to live further. She has got two children now and family seems to be happy, but beneath this happiness is a burning pain, an agony which Mubeena can't reveal but has to resist silently. Mubeena further says she can't forget that fateful night and those images still haunt her. She avoids passing by that place and is frightful and fearful of the uniform clad men. When asked whether she got any compensation, she says that when she couldn't get justice all these years how could she get any relief or compensation. The FIR was lodged with the police against the erring soldiers, but no action was taken ever. When asked about the reaction of other people towards her, she openly says that the stigma associated with the rape victim is there, she faced certain awkward moments in the initial years of her marriage, her name would be dragged in on a mere verbal exchange between her husband and some other person on some petty issue and that gave her pain and suffering, but with passing time things have improved a lot. She is hopeful that peace will dawn in Kashmir someday, but the question mark on her identity and existence will be there to haunt her until she enters the bosom of her grave.

Case 6: A sordid tale of a half widow.

Respondent: Tahira
Age: 32 years.

Tahira is a 32 years old half widow from Duksum. She is having two children both male, Irfan and Zahoor. Family was enjoying a happy life till December 2002, when Tahira's husband the sole breadwinner of the family went to work and got disappeared under unknown circumstances. Tahira went in search of her husband from pillar to post but to no avail. Even FIR was lodged by her in laws but that did not yield any result. There is no news whether he is alive or dead. Sometimes she was told that he is languishing in some jail, but that happened to be a false information. After her husband's disappearance the whole world changed for the family. She left no stone unturned and had to sell her whole jewellery to pursue her husband's case, but there was no respite for her, no body to tell her where her husband was. Tahira narrates that her parents had already died and to her in-laws and close relatives neglected her. To run the family she took a job of a peon in a local school which she had to leave following objections from her elder son who would get taunts from other boys in the school. She had to follow the case of her husband too and finally decided to settle in Srinagar, where she got her husband's case registered in APDP (Association of Parents of Disappeared People) a local run NGO pursuing the cases of disappeared. She was supported by another NGO which helped her to earn Rs. 1500 per month. Her children were admitted to a local orphanage where they are getting their education. She has a dream of providing her sons a better education, a dream that sometimes appears to be a distant reality. Lamenting on her husband's disappearance, Tahira seems quite broken when she says, 'He was neither a militant nor a police informer. I fail to understand who picked him up? I often see his images and sometimes get depressed that I lose consciousness'. For Tahira the prime concern is her children

which are her sole property. She wiping her tears says that things would have been different for her children had their father being around. She couldn't provide them the comforts their father used to provide them. She longs to live along with her children, but family meets only once in a week on Sundays for now and this appears as a deep dug wound on her soul. For Tahira sufferings and misery are something, she was destined to. Braving all odds, she has come all the way pursuing her cause to search her husband, besides upbringing her two little sons. Tahira has been declared a patient of post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and relies on medicines to avoid panic and depression. For the last three years she has been taking the prescribed medicine. The only thing that aggravates her problem is question shrouding her husband's disappearance. Tahira believes that peace does not have any meaning to her or any other women like her unless and until government comes up with the details pertaining to disappeared persons. Tahira is broken but at the same time she is very much optimistic like any other Kashmiri women. The only thing that keeps her going on is hope. Hope to see her husband returning home and her wishes to see her miseries end.

Case 7: The story of the orphaned children.

Respondent: Habibullah Mir
Age: 70 years.

Habibullah Mir is a 70 years old man from Dialgam Anantnag. He happens to be the father of a militant Fayaz Ahmed Mir alias Abu Bakr, who got killed in February 1996 while fighting Indian army. The family is reeling under abject poverty as can be sensed from the state of affairs of the household. Habibullah recounts the old days and says family was not in the same condition in the past,

prior to his death his family suffered huge losses as three of their houses along with belongings and merchandise of shops were burnt down by the army personnel. "This was the punishment that army gave me for my son's involvement with the militants and finally killed him," says Habibullah Mir adding I have suffered both monetarily as well as humanly. Habibullah introduces me to four orphaned children of the deceased militant, elder one is Shahid reading in 10th class, Khalid is in 7th class, daughter Gazala is in 6th and little Hamim is studying in 4th. The absence of parental care has taken all the sheen from the faces of these children, who are a depressed lot. "Today I am alive only because of these children, otherwise I have lost everything and doesn't want to live," Habibullah utters heaving a long sigh. Habibullah narrates that after the death of his son, the mother of these children deserted them and got married to another man on her own. Both the parents of Abu Bakr feel sorry for their daughter in law for neglecting her children. With sullen face and almost in tears Habibullah says that at times I can't answer the questions of these children especially the young Gazala who longs for her parents particularly her mother. The absence of parental care has tormented these children from inside, a space of loneliness and the burden of orphanage which nobody can fill for them. He says that he can't afford to provide them the quality or higher education seeing the financial condition of the family, but at least he would try his best to make them literate. On interacting with children it was learnt that they have kept a poster size photograph of their father decorated on the wall in their joint room to make their father's presence felt in the house. They have even kept the photographs of his bullet-ridden body in their albums. The young children seem to reel under intense mental pressure especially

young Gazala and Hamim who feel shy to talk yet identify their father's photograph on the wall with a remark that he was "martyred by army". The eldest Shahid who is now 16 years old misses his father and mother although he is disdainful towards his mother for leaving them. When asked about financial assistance from the government or some other agency, Habibullah sarcastically says, 'my son was a militant who will give me compensation'. 'We were denied compensation on the grounds that Abu Bakr was a militant, but what is the fault of these children, at least they should have been provided with the little security to make their futures or at least given free education' says the agile and old Habibullah. Habibullah says that peace has to dawn on the Kashmir, but the scars on their lives which the violence has tattooed will remain forever and these children will grow up with the burden of the orphanage on their fragile shoulders.

Case 8: A daughter of a deceased militant reveals the heart rending account of their sufferings.

Respondent: Gowher
Age: 23 years.

Gowher is a 23 years old girl from Mattan Anantnag, a daughter of a deceased militant. She is the eldest daughter of the family without any male member. The other family members include her grandmother, her mother Zaina begum and her three younger sisters Razia (20 Years old), Rohi (17 years old) and youngest Suezza (13 years old). Zaina's husband was a militant and also a government employee. Ghulam Nabi Khan, the father of Gowher died fighting Indian army in November 1992 at the neighbouring village of Krangsoo. Gowher was then only 10 years old, she remembers her father who she says was very loving and caring. She still remembers the bullet ridden body of her father.

Gowher has been a witness to the whole agony of her family right from her childhood and that reflects in her attire, outlook and the way of talking. She more looks like a mature lady than a charming young girl in the prime of her youth. She has been witness to the sufferings and the miseries of her mother, who at times had to beg to feed her family. Gowher sacrificed her desires of getting education and making it big someday and helped her mother to run the family affairs, she started working in a local handicrafts centre. Razia left her education after 12th and Roohi and sueeza are still in 10th and 7th class respectively. Razia and Roohi have just a faint idea of their father and for Sueeza she doesn't know him. She was born after 8 months of her father's death. 'These children sometimes miss the love of their father and envy the love the other children receive from their fathers' says Zaina Begum. Zaina on her part has sacrificed her desires and didn't marry anybody else for the sake of her daughters. She worked in other households and managed to run the family with the bare minimum she would get. Gowher with heavy heart recalls the time when sometime back family was not having the money to repair the broken panes of the windows of the house they live in and they had to brave the chilling winter nights for about a month until someday a gentleman came enquiring while passing down the road and got them corrected himself within a day. Being the family of a militant they couldn't get the compensation. Gowher sarcastically remarks that even the present government's healing touch policy couldn't get them out of the straits of poverty. She along with her mother approached the president of the PDP Mahbooba Mufti a coalition partner in the government for help only to be avoided and disappointed. Gowher adores her mother for being so kind to them and sacrificing her life for their sake. Though

family may have coped with the violence and the miseries, but the lacunae of the male member and the insecurity they have lived in has forced the whole household to live in the state of constant fear.

Case 9: A tale of bravado and despair of a militant.

Respondent: Javaid Ahmad
Age: 36 years.

Javaid Ahmed Churisaz alias Jugeh Churi is a 36 years old ex-militant hailing from Anantnag town. At first it was very difficult to catch up with Javaid and he was a bit reluctant to divulge any information, the researcher had to seek help from a friend who was well acquainted with Javaid. It was on his insistence that Javaid finally agreed and narrated his story of glory and gloom. Javaid is among the first batch of youth who crossed to Pakistan Occupied Kashmir for receiving arms training and started an armed resistance in Indian part of Kashmir against the occupation. Javaid has seen both the glory of the militancy when there was mass support to the militants and were welcomed everywhere and he has been also witness to the times when there was no one who would whole heartedly welcome them and at times they had to sleep outdoors under the open sky. Javaid recounts the year 1989 when violence started to erupt in the streets of Kashmir. His close neighbour Manzoor-ul-Islam was the commander of JKLF. Manzoor's brother motivated Javaid to cross the border where he received arms training for a year when he was a young chap without any understanding of what he was doing. On his return he became an active member of the outfit and participated in many operations against the Indian army. He was arrested in year 1993 and jailed for two years. After his release the fortune of JKLF had dwindled, Javaid says that

every pro Pakistan outfit was against JKLF and wiping them on the charges of being anti movement and Indian government sold outs. It was hard for Javaid and his outfit members to survive in this hostile environment, there were no weapons available to them to at least guard themselves, their only hope Manzoor-ul-Islam was also languishing in jail. Finally Javaid managed to steal an ambassador car belonging to Al-Badr outfit and sold it for 3 guns in the Srinagar. The guns gave them a security that they can't be targeted easily. Javaid along with his acolytes decided to meet Manzoor-ul-Islam languishing in Kathua district jail to get the details of the hidden weapons of the outfit, but on reaching Kathua Javaid and his accomplices along with Manzoor charted out a plan for the escape of the later from the jail. The plan didn't work out and they were arrested. Javaid was served a 9 year sentence for the crime. In the jail Javaid had a chance to meet the bigwigs of the movement who later formed Hurriyat Conference that include Yasin Malik, Javaid Mir, Bilal Lodhi and Imran Rahi, but Javaid recalls that they were released only after two years of imprisonment for more heinous crimes than his own as they had reached some agreement with the government and these people began to preach the slogan of non violence. Javaid with shrill voice says, 'on my return I realised that I have wasted all these years for the people who were ready to sell our blood any time any where'. Javaid further says, 'I could see the people in rags had turned into riches and on seeing my condition and that of my family I often wept in isolation'. The condition of his family was abject and miserable. Javaid further says that his family has suffered a lot for his involvement in the militancy. He feels ashamed that instead of supporting his family he became a burden on them. Although they haven't suffered physically, but Javaid feels he has been a source of

continuous emotional and mental torture for his family especially his sisters for whom it was very hard to get married as many boys backed off on hearing their brother is “Jugeh Churi”. Javaid hates this code name “Jugeh Churi” which follows him even to present day and brings the label of past to his present life. His brother and father toiled hard to make the ends of the family meet after doing hard labour on daily wage basis. He says that his mother got ill because of Javaid’s uncertain future as most cadres of his outfit lost their lives in the conflict. He laments that he doesn’t have a penny to get her a quality medical treatment. Javaid wanted to improve the condition of the family by applying for self employment loan, but on reaching the bank the first question that manager asked him was that are you Jugeh Churi? The loan was stopped. Though 36 Javaid is yet unmarried, on being asked why so, he with a casual glance says “who will marry me, I am not a normal man, I am Jugeh Churi”. On being asked whether he is being followed even now by any agency, Javaid replies that he has to take precautions himself. If there is some disturbance some where he changes the way and takes some other route. Even after his release he has been detained several times for mere suspicion and questioned heavily. As we begin to finish our conversation, a dejected man Javaid stands up and sees me off with gentle smile, but underneath that smile is a torn identity and a tired man who wants to rest and live a normal life like every one of us which he is denied always and nobody knows for how long.

Case 10: A family loses three members to violence and another member is still disappeared.

Respondent: Shakeela Akhter
Age: 33 years.

Shakeela a 33 years old widow belongs to Kaladrang village of Anantnag. She is witness to three deaths in her family, who were the victims of violence. The violence knocked at the doorstep of the household when in 1996 Shakeela's brother in law Mukhtar crossed LOC to get arms training. Mukhtar never returned and nobody knows whether he is alive or dead, but his cross over changed the state of affairs of the family. The security forces would often come to enquire for Mukhtar. During one such security check, men in uniform inquired about Mukhtar from his mother. She candidly told them that he had crossed over to PoK. The statement enraged them and a soldier fired close to her ear. The shock was so intense that she died within days of the incident. This was the start of miseries for the family. Shakeela's husband Muhammad Yusuf Dar was a carpet weaver by profession but lately he had joined state Police department as an SPO at a paltry salary of Rs, 1500 per month. As Shakeela starts to narrate her gut wrenching story, her sobs fill the household with the air of gloom. Shakeela recounts the fateful night of December 21 1998 when the armed men from the Ikwan (The Pro government militants) masquerading as militants forcibly took her husband, saying they needed him to guide them to the next village. From another room, the gunmen dragged her father-in-law. Shakeela tried to resist but was locked up in a room. Sensing trouble, she jumped out from the window and followed the gunmen barefooted. Unmoved by her pleas, some of them caught hold of her and pointed their guns at her till the two were whisked away to the road passing through the village. Shakeela's frantic cries evoked no response and no body from the adjoining houses came for help as nobody wanted death to knock at their doorstep. No sooner had she managed to free herself from the gunmen, they fired a volley of bullets at her husband and father-in-law. She rushed to her parent's house at a

distance from the place hurling stones on the windows and beseeching help. They came out to find that Shakeela's husband was dead and her father in law Ghulam Rasool Dar was still alive. Shakeela's brother ran to the chemist's shop to get some help, but he denied fearing wrath of renegades. The elder Dar couldn't be shifted to hospital and succumbed to injuries the next morning. The news report termed the killers as unidentified men though Shakeela identifies them as Ikhwanis. Shakeela says the killings in the village were provoked and carried out to avenge the killing of an Ikhwani by militants earlier in the day in the neighbouring village of Khudwani. Since Mukhtar had crossed over to PoK and that made her family the desired target. Shakeela though sure didn't name the killers as Ikhwanis because that could have cost her the ex-gratia amount being denied by the authorities. Mukhtar never returned but the family paid the price. "If he hadn't gone there, we wouldn't have suffered this way. He must be living there at ease (Though she is not sure) and I had to beg for alms to make ends meet," Shakeela says. She is too busy fending for her two children, both daughters. For some years she ran the household on the ex-gratia amount but now the bank manager rebukes her, saying, how can you spend the money on orphans. She now gets Rs 200 from an NGO but that is too little. "For feeding myself and my children till date, I have done everything except going astray," says Shakeela. Apart from the amount Shakeela was also entitled for a job which has been denied to her till this date. Shakeela is perturbed about the future of her daughters; she remarks that no one would accept her along her daughters, so it is better to be a widow than getting married again. Though Shakeela happens to be tough and brave but her father says," As dusk creeps in, restlessness grips her. "Howling dogs or a child's shriek gets to her". The fear factor prevails yet again.

Case 11: This tragedy struck family has 2 widows in one household and 3 widows in another household.

Respondent: Joginder Singh
Age: 55 years.

Joginder Singh is a 55 years old man from the ill fated village of Chattisinghpura which has been a place of whole sale slaughter of 35 Sikhs. Joginder recounts the whole tragedy of Chattisinghpura massacre in which unfortunately two of his brothers and six sons of his uncle were slain. He points towards the hill from where the men in army uniform descended on the village. It was around 7:30 pm in the evening, and the men were ordered to come out for search. Who they were nobody knows, but they were in army fatigues, says Joginder. There was first a big blast probably a grenade and there after indiscriminate firing within next five minutes 35 men lost their lives. Most of the slain men have widows left behind with 2 or 3 children to be fed. Though some did remarry with their respective brother in laws for the sake of the children and security, but majority remained unmarried. In the family of Joginder there are two widows of his two slain brothers with one having three children and another having two children. Joginder is of the opinion that although they have never complained of anything, but the loneliness and the absence of their beloved partners does haunt them always. They are living for the sake of their children otherwise their life has become meaningless, says Joginder. It was not possible for the researcher to talk to the widows owing to the resistance from Joginder Singh, being the head of household now. In case of his uncle's household, one of the three widows has married her younger brother in law and the situation is same. When being asked about the condition of children, Joginder says that they are all

minors and the eldest among them is 15 years old Rattan. These children do miss their fathers, but they don't have any idea what happened to them. When asked about the educational prospects of these children, Joginder is optimistic that they are getting good education and will receive the higher education too, the only thing these children would miss is fatherly love. 'The families of the village have been duly compensated along with Joginder's family by state government, central government, Punjab government, Haryana government even by foreign countries like USA', says Joginder. In addition to this the widows have been provided with the government jobs by the state government which makes their going smooth. Every family has received around 2 to 3 lakhs for the every slain person of which 1 lakh and the job has been provided by state government. Joginder asserts that the widows of his brothers are safe and have never faced any sort of awkward advances or humiliation. He feels they are secure and the local community is very supportive to them. 'Their lands and property are safe and so is their honour and chastity', asserts Joginder. Joginder says that the worst has happened but their relations with the local Muslims have not suffered, he negates that any mistrust has crept in between the communities. He feels that peace has to prevail in the region, but the things would have been even better if the good old days return back again. Though Joginder is a positive voice to quote for, but the village is a witness to the orphaned children and widowed women whose gloom and pain is written on the walls of almost every household of the village.

Case 12: A mistaken identity snatches away the life of a young man, the sole bread earner of the family.

**Respondent: Jawahira Akhter
Age: 45 years.**

Jawahira is a 45 years old mother of a slain young man Tariq Ahmed who lost his life in July 2005. She belongs to village Bhan of district Anantnag. The family comprises of 5 members, her ailing husband Mohd Siddiq (55 years old), her two sons Amin (20 years old) and Shakeel (15 years old) and Jawahira's daughter Rukhsana (18 years old). Jawahira recalls the fateful incident when during the cordon of the village the army men took Tariq as a militant and fired on him, he died on the spot at the stream close to the village. Though army men later repented, but it was too late. With a heavy heart and tears rolling down her cheeks Jawahira says that Tariq was married just 9 months before his death. A pall of gloom descended on the whole family and it was most hard for the young widow Zahida a 23 year old lady to accept her husband's death. She became quite neurotic and had to be taken to the doctor for treatment. Tariq was a carpet weaver by profession and earned handsome money to run the family. The family was living a happy life until Tariq's death which changed everything. Amin had to leave the studies and began to work to meet the ends of the family. Zahida without any child was taken back by her parents, though Jawahira says she was willing to get her remarried herself to a suitable guy. When asked about the affairs of the family, Jawahira with a shrug says it is very abject and miserable. Amin is working at will; he works according to his wish and often defies his father's orders, he had also resorted to drugs though lately he has quit the use after Jawahira's intervention and pleas. He has become irritable and angry. It is hard for Rukhsana and Shakeel to continue their studies as at times they can't get the required book, copy or even pen. The family has to survive at the bare minimum

which the Amin earns. The family was never compensated by any agency, because Tariq was not killed by militants. Jawahira is very perturbed regarding the marriage of her only daughter Rukhsana. 'From where would the money come for the marriage of my daughter', says Jawahira. Although it is a tough going but Jawahira is equally optimistic to go on. Though it appears that family is disorganised and there are multiple tensions in the household, Jawahira rests her faith on Amin and hopes he mends his ways. Till then Jawahira has to wait for the miracle to happen so that the old order of the family returns.

Case 13: The family of a militant in the throes of poverty and despair after his death.

Respondent: Shakeela Bano
Age: 33 years.

Shakeela widow of Mohammed Yusuf Mir alias Sharif-ud-Din along with her four daughters is living a life of destitute in village Katreteng of district Anantnag. Shakeela narrates her miserable tale with persistent sobs and pain. Shakeela was married prior to militancy with Mohammed Yusuf Mir, a college going youth then. Soon after the marriage Yusuf was appointed as constable in J&K Police. While on duty far away from home in Kupwara, Yusuf crossed the border to seek arms training and joined Hizbul Mujahidin (HM). Back home he was given the code name Sharif-ud-Din and made Divisional Commander of South Kashmir. He remained active in the organization for about 9 years and finally got killed in an encounter with Indian Army on February 23, 1999.

Sharif-ud-Din's death has orphaned his four daughters. Mumtaz (15) is the eldest and six-year-old Saima is the youngest. Unable to provide quality education

and a square meal daily to her children, Shakeela was forced to admit two of her daughters namely Kulsoom and Kousar in an orphanage at district Budgam run by Jammu and Kashmir Yateem Trust. Her other two daughters Mumtaz and Saima are admitted in a locally run private Institute. For Shakeela life has become meaningless. Although she advocates that widows should remarry to safeguard themselves from the society, she has herself decided not to remarry (though her religion allows her to go for second marriage), but instead she has decided to live for the future of daughters. Her daughters are her only and prized possession. Though family was separated for a while, but the bonds have not weakened. She has braved all odds and earns her livelihood by working in other households and even going outside village for the work. During Sharif-ud-Din's active role Shakeela has many a times left her home for years together to escape the wrath of Indian Army. Once she was arrested from her paternal home and took to Joint Interrogation Centre (JIC) Anantnag for questioning. Today she is living separately with her children in a single room in the house of her in-laws. Shakeela recounts the death of her husband, the pain and sufferings of the family, but she had to manage the family and she has succeeded considerably. Her only dream is to get her daughters married to suitable matches only then she can die peacefully, says Shakeela. Mumtaz recounts the days when the sisters were separated, everyone in the family was suffering silently but they had no option and for survival they had to take this extreme step. Shakeela says that she at times had to save herself from the advancing men who wanted to take advantage of her suffering and the poverty of the family. Shakeela says that may be she might have been forced to sell her body for survival of the family, but the very thought of her

daughters made her to be firm to save her honour, because she believes her character would determine the character of her daughters. She has lost faith in both mainstream as well as separatist leadership. No one ever came for her help. She never received any compensation or relief. She says that the leaders just sell the bodies of victims and are busy in filling their coffers. Shakeela says that for her freedom or peace means nothing as her world has been already silenced. She will be at peace only when she will secure the future of her daughters. Shakeela might be like several Kashmiri women suffering from some psychological disease like PTSD, but she is busy with her work schedule where she has no time left for herself. While Shakeela is lost back in work her little world seems to be under tremendous stress and nobody knows when it crumbles.

Case 14: With her husband arrested, a brave woman narrates the tale of her fight for survival, existence and sacrifice.

Respondent: Nuzhat
Age: 38 years.

This is a story of a woman who has fought every battle of her life with courage, optimism and perseverance. For the sake of her anonymity, her name and the name of her daughters has been changed on request.

Nuzhat (name changed) is a 38 years old from Anantnag town working woman in the government sector. The researcher himself has been very well acquainted with the respondent so it was easy to get her account. Nuzhat was married to the man of her choice Faraz Khan (name changed) in late 1980's who was an engineer by the profession. She recalls the every single loving moment spent with her husband who she says was loving, caring and understanding husband. He would look after each and every need of the family and took keen

interest in family matters especially related to her; in short he was a perfect family man. The things went awry after 1990 when Khan joined militant ranks and became one of the wanted commanders of the Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen. Khan was later arrested somewhere in 1992 on the charges of carrying out bomb blasts outside state and lodged in a jail in Rajasthan. Khan's arrest changed everything for the young Nuzhat, she went to meet her husband continuously, but the chances of his release appeared bleak. Meanwhile, Nuzhat along with her two little daughters Areeba (name changed) and Zoya (name changed) who were 2 and 4 years old respectively at that time had to leave her in-laws house who got bitter with her every passing day, which she was unable to tolerate. Secondly and most importantly she wanted to give her daughters a quality education which was only possible in Srinagar.

Nuzhat finally shifted to Srinagar and got her children simultaneously enrolled in one of the leading missionary schools of the valley and this gave her ultimate bliss. For the moment she forgot all her pain and sufferings as she began to live her life vicariously through her daughters. But the things didn't go smooth afterwards, the stymied imprisonment of her husband loomed like a hanging sword on her neck and she was just living a life of a widow. Not with standing that her brother-in-law tried to make advances towards her and she had to resist it with courage and determination. Her strong will and love for her kids made her to trudge every thorny path with ease. Being in jail her husband got averse to her, his family used to pass false information to him regarding her activities. But she was satisfied with her conduct and even sent money to her jailed husband so that he can have some respite there. With every passing day her man became averse to her

and that made her to suffer more. The pain was aggravated by the frequent queries of the children regarding their father. Although she admires her children for being understanding and much mature than their age, but she could feel how depressed and weak they felt at times. In fact whole family was silently suffering psychologically. Nuzhat reminds that her family of origin has been quite supportive to her, but at certain times of crisis she had to manage herself when nobody was around. Meanwhile, her daughters began to grow and for Nuzhat an added responsibility of their security became a prime concern. She finally decided to remarry and with great difficulty she got divorce from her previous husband. But shortly afterwards the worst nightmare came when her in-laws demanded possession of her children. "This was the worst blow I would have suffered from which I could have never survived", says Nuzhat as tears trickle down her face. The things took ugly turn when case was taken to the court of law and the children had to be summoned by court to record their consent whether they wish to be with their mother or with their fathers family. Though things went into her favour, but the very thought of the moment stifles her and sends shivers down her spine. Her new husband being her acquaintance appeared to be quite understanding and supportive, she has also got a child from him. Nuzhat aptly points out that she remarried so that her children get a caring shadow of a father for which they have longed and her present husband is quite up to the mark. Though there are casual fights like every household, but the best thing that Nuzhat likes about him is that he deeply understands her daughters. Nuzhat has managed to send her elder daughter to a well known school in Delhi and she has plans to send her children abroad for higher studies. Life is smooth for her at the moment, but the pain and

the agony she has gone through haunts her at every moment of seclusion. The things have changed for her but with a cost and she doesn't know even now how much she has to pay more when Khan returns from the jail.

The case studies show the anatomy of violence in the state. All the cases highlight the effects of violence on the family, women and children. The family has at times been rendered without any earning member and the burden ultimately felt on widowed women and their orphaned children. The children had to leave the school and labour for survival of the family. The case of half widows is even more pathetic who can't break the painful stymies and have to live like widows trudging for the mere survival. The rape being used as a tool to strike honour and pride of the people by forces has left many women devastated, who had to face the social stigma and sometimes lifelong spinsterhood and broken marriages. There have been cases where loss of the head of family has led to family disorganization where children find it easy to defy orders or resort to drugs thus leading to individual disorganization. The cases reveal multiple forms of suffering of people; they have suffered socially, physically, emotionally and mentally. Even the children have not been spared, who have been witness to the violent incidents in the family and neighbourhood, thus shattering them emotionally. It can be concluded that case studies justify the each and every finding of the tables, thus supporting the quantitative analysis.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The term violence has gained currency during present times. Although little violence is a feature of every society, but the prolonged violence accompanied by use of brute force is a form of extreme violence which results in defilement of bodies, families at micro level and societies at large. The present study has been taken up in south Kashmir district of Anantnag to explore the causes of long drawn armed conflict on the family in general as a unit and women in particular as a category.

The conflict has its origin in the long treacherous political history of the land which begins right from the sale of the land to Sikhs by British (Treaty of Amritsar, 1856) and subsequent political conditions in the valley after 15th August 1947 when India became independent. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was a princely state under the rule of Dogras at the time of the independence and subsequent partition of the Indian subcontinent ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh. The Maharaja under pressure from tribal attack and with Indian diplomatic overtures signed the instrument of accession with India, which itself is subject to scrutiny according to various commentators. With support from New Delhi, Sheikh Abdullah became the prime minister of the state, but the subsequent political conditions and manoeuvres from New Delhi saw installation of puppet governments in the state and the mockery of democratic and socialist ideals for which Sheikh had supported New Delhi. The Article 370 which is the base of the State's accession with the state was gradually eroded. The UN resolutions of holding plebiscite in the region never materialised and the dispute of Kashmir between India and Pakistan lingered on, which even led to wars between two nations and the bitter relations between two neighbours. The events took an ugly

turn in year 1987 when the general elections held in state were massively rigged in favour of National Conference led by Farooq Abdullah. The government at the centre always remained a mute spectator and at most of the times facilitated the formation of unstable governments in the state, which served its purpose. The year 1989 saw the rise of armed rebellion against the Indian occupation of the Kashmir, and the rest is a history.

The valley has witnessed violence for the past 18 years continuously without stop in every nook and corner, in every locality, village and town. There is hardly any family which has escaped the wrath of violence in one form or the other form. The family as a unit and women as a category have suffered different forms of violence. The interrogation, torture, molestation, rape, kidnapping, brutal killing, fake encounters, disappearances and illegal detention have been witnessed in valley day in day out. There have been literature available on the effects of armed conflicts on women and family, mainly from Columbia, Bosnia, Ireland and elsewhere, but the literature on Kashmir conflict is mostly restricted to historical basis of the dispute and conflict resolution and the vital part of the inside story, the suffering of people, the pain of women and children, the innocent killing of men, the widows of violence, the half widows, the orphaned children, the rape victims, the hardships faced by the affected families, the future of children, simply the anatomy of violence has been left out. The present study is an attempt to explore the hidden dimensions of the violence, beyond political and strategic spheres into the social sphere where violence creeps in the life of a common man and the victim finds no escape. The study has just brought to light the suffering of common man in myriads of ways. Therefore, the study will definitely add to the

existing literature on violence and add new insights into the understanding of violence in conflict situations like Kashmir.

Various independent variables like, age, gender, education, income, marital status, location, and family size have been used suitably to corroborate the various findings. All these variables influence each other in some way but they have their independent influence on the violence, its extent and forms.

At the beginning there was mass support to the movement, but as the struggle got prolonged, the mass support began to vanish, though people still believe in the struggle for independence. The victims happen to have suffered irrespective of age, gender and location. But at the same time middle age group, women (being victims doubly both directly and indirectly) and rural space happen to be more prone to violence. When it comes to forms of violence, the upper age group happens to be have suffered in every form of violence more followed by middle age group and lower age group. In case of location, the rural people happen to have suffered more in every form of violence. It is a clear case of spatial distribution of violence, where rural people often become soft targets of violence. In case of gender the results show gendered bias of violence, where women happen to have suffered on specific forms of violence more like rape, molestation, threat and emotional suffering where as men face torture, physical abuse and interrogation more. The women have been targeted to demoralise the men from supporting militants.

The perpetrators of violence happen to be Militants, Paramilitary forces, Military, Police, STF, Intelligence agencies and Renegades (Ikhwanis). The common Kashmiri happens to be the victim of every agency involved in violence,

but the agencies mainly involved in violence against people have been Military, Paramilitary, STF of Police and Renegades (pro government fighters). The state forces entrusted with the duty of providing security to the people often turn hostile and resort to brazen violence. The militants have been also involved in human rights abuses a number of times though not often. There is a clear manifestation of the spatial distribution of violence where rural space happens to be more prone to violence as rural folks cease to be identified as complete citizens. As citizenship is generally thought to comprise several elements, including identity, belonging, status, rights and responsibilities, that produce what T.H.Marshall considers the acceptance of a person as a full member of a given society (Marshall, 1973). Lynch further points out citizenship is “a proposal of equality according to which all members of the same political community enjoy the same rights and thus the same citizen status” (Lynch, 1997:126). The rural people are subjected to blatant violence of human rights on the account of denial of their basic rights compared to urban population. At the same time both the genders have been subjected to victimization, but men happen to be victimised more than women on account of non involvement of women in insurgent organisations.

The victims happen to have suffered both loss of life and property, but the majority has suffered the loss of life. It has been established by the results that the majority of the deceased happen to be earning members of the family; this has led to deep impact on the life chances of the dependent members of the family. The widows of the deceased have to toil hard to feed the family and most often find themselves in the role conflicts while running the household and family affairs, it also leads to school dropout of the children who leave school to earn for the family

existence. Therefore, loss of earning member has its repercussions on the educational attainment of children and economy of the family.

The family happens to be the basic unit of social organisation, which determines the life chances of its members. The family has certain basic functions like socialization, economic, educational and emotional to be fulfilled for the better development of the members to be incorporated into the society. In this manner family happens to be the basic block which determines order and stability in the society. The continuous violence has led to deep impact on these basic functions of the family. The process of socialization has been disrupted, the economic function has been undermined, educational prospects and the emotional security to the members have been defiled.

The socialization which marks the initiation of the new born into the culture of family and society in large has been strongly affected. The child had to be educated in norms and values of the society, but the society was in a disarray and chaos. The old norms and values were fast changing and the new transitional norms and values crept in. It was difficult for the family to maintain the balance between the cherished values and the new values. The earlier values rested on peace, brotherhood, respect, sacrifice and altruism. But the new values emerged from violence and demanded strict codes to be adhered to for mere survival, the situation was anomic. The children and the adults learnt how to be safe during cross fires, how to be safe during searches and cordons, how to face the music of angry soldiers after encounters, how to face the authoritarian militants, how to face the militants and troops in normal times. The activities of leisure and recreation changed, the sunset was an alarm to be inside the home. There was change in

language too. The language of violence has crept in the local language and often people use the words pertaining to violent acts in day to day lives. People find it hard to socialize their children when there is dearth of meaningful reference groups.

The new culture of violence has taken its toll on economic function of the family too. Because of the continuing violence the men have been off the work most of the times, which has impeded in the fulfillment of the economic needs of the members sometimes. But the condition is worse in the cases where the earning hands of the family got wiped out in violence. The affected families got in dire economic straits, often the women had to search out for the work and make up for the economic needs of the family and its members. In certain cases even children had to work to make the both ends meet. In worst cases sometimes women were forced to sell their bodies to feed their families. So, when the bare survival of the family was difficult, the question of economic security never emerged.

The emotional security of the members has been snatched away, because family is finding it difficult to manage the crisis of conflict. The elders of the family feel uncertainty in their lives and in most of the affected families the fathers and earning members cease to exist, which has led to deep emotional fissures within the family.

The family could not maintain to provide for better education to its members, the violence often led to closure of schools, colleges and even university. Secondly, many youth found it attractive to join militant ranks for the power associated with gun and many families saw loss of earning members which

resulted in closure of educational prospects for the children of the affected families.

Though family has been affected on various counts as pointed above, the nuclear family has suffered more as compared to Joint family, the reason being small membership of the family, where every member is given due care. When the violence targets the family, the whole family is affected on multiple counts and that too more lethally.

There has occurred an uneven distribution of money where some well off families have been ruined and some modest families have amassed wealth. The reason for this is increased corruption and at the same time illegal wealth has found entry into state through various means, like hawala channels, counterfeit currency and through militant outfits. The worst part is that the society is becoming morally sick as the social control means to control such practices have become ineffective. The wealth is the only thing that counts and not the mode of earning. The other reason for such a practice may be the social pressures for luxuries and consumerism which has become an antidote to fear and pressures of violence

The marriage of young ones especially girls is a family affair in traditional societies like Kashmir, the family elders take the important decisions regarding the compatibility of potential mates. The patriarchal setup of the society makes it a matter of honour and pride. This potential function of the family has been impeded because of the violent conditions prevalent in society. The potential reasons for such a development happen to be the pressure from gun yielding men forcing family to get the girls married to them or the girls overawed with the power of gun

and eloping with gunmen and family happens to be in no position to resist. The more plausible reason is the weakening of existing norms and values of the society, where the violent norms prevail and the social control mechanisms cease to exist. There is no variation in the results with respect to location.

A related case is the loss of community control and community leadership which happen to be the land marks of traditional societies. The traditional authority emerged from the pulpit and the community elders took important decisions regarding community affairs who followed sufistic Islam. The holy warriors or Mujahids (militants) were backed with an ideology of different form of Islam and the authority emerged from the gun. The old values and norms shattered and the authority and control of elders stood defied not only in community but even in their own households.

The important thing is that people perceive that family is disorganised. The results show that majority of respondents feel that there is loss of basic functions of family, undermining of authority of elders, intergenerational conflict and increase and more importantly a rise in domestic violence. There is clash between the old and new values, the old used to follow certain moral codes continuing for generations in a peaceful environment in a beautiful cultural mosaic of tolerance, interdependence and responsibility. With the onset of violence the society went into transition where earlier codes ceased to exist, the condition became more or less anomic. The result was that social relations went into a disarray and disruption so does the interfamilial relations. There is a significant increase in domestic violence cases, the people witness violence in their everyday life and the frustration finds vent at their respective homes. At the same time there is increased

drug use among youth, who find it hard to escape the waves of violence and find solace in drugs. There is widespread unemployment and chaos supplemented by easy availability of drugs like Charas, Ganja, Brown Sugar and Liquor made available by various agencies to weaken resistance. To forget their personal traumas and sufferings youth find these drugs appealing which at last has direct bearing on their families and in particular women.

The women happen to have been affected doubly in the ongoing violent conflict, either directly when their own bodies were hit or indirectly when some member of the family is hit by violence. It is because a woman happens to be a mother, a daughter, a sister, a wife of the victim. A woman suffers as a mother when she witnesses multiple funerals in her house, her son was tortured or subjected to disappearance, members of the family were kept in long detention. A woman has suffered as a daughter when her father being a close emotional pillar for her lost his life, her family members were subjected to torture or death or she was molested in front of her family. A woman suffered as a sister when her brother/brothers lost life in conflict, she was molested in front of her brother, and she was beaten up while protesting for atrocities against her brothers by forces. Similarly a woman has suffered as a wife when she was subjected to widowhood or half widowhood in the ongoing conflict. Thus woman happens to have suffered on multiple counts. The widowhood appears to be a bane not only for the affected women but for their children too, but the women happen to have sacrificed their desires and opted not to remarry for the sake of their children. But when findings were cross checked with respect to gender, it has been found that females find widows being victimised more. They have been sometimes labelled as bad

charactered, even sometimes they have to sell their bodies for mere survival of the family where honour and modesty matters least. So there is a significant difference in male and female perception regarding suffering of widows that is directly a manifestation of strengthening of patriarchal setup of society.

The valley has witnessed fake encounters and disappearances. The fake encounters have resulted in loss of innocent lives and the extent can be identified from the startling revelation of mass graves in north Kashmir quite recently. It has resulted in disruption and defilement of many families where children bore the brunt and had to work to run the family, but the worst sufferers are the wives of these disappeared men who are caught in stymies where they can neither remarry nor can take divorce. They have to wait endlessly for the disappeared to come back and in the process suffer the same way as do the widows and sometimes much more than the widows. They are living a miserable life even sometimes become burden on in-laws or have to sell their bodies in extreme cases to run the family.

Another dimension of violence has been the restriction in free movement, role performance and economic activity of women. The women in the Kashmiri society have traditionally enjoyed freedom of movement, the social space used to be secure and safe, but the conflict has brought violence to the doorsteps and the women happen to be the soft targets and thus resulting in her restricted movement. Most of the Kashmiri women in rural areas used to collect firewood and fodder from nearby fields and orchards to help men in running the family economy smoothly, but the presence of army men forced her to sit back in the secure confines of her home. In the process she began to play roles different from the

ones she played earlier. She had to accompany men to almost every work particularly in the night which was alien to her. Some families had even to migrate from rural to urban areas because of threat from militants and renegades, at the new place they were confined to the indoors and even at times subjected to cultural shocks. There has been unhealthy transfer of role from one status to other status. The worst role conflict has been in the cases where men lost their life and the widows had to take up the additional roles of father, breadwinner and caretaker of the children. She even had to work for the sustenance of the family where she became victimised again in various forms.

The violence has also taken toll on the education system of the valley, the frequent cordons, firings and shutdowns have disrupted the whole system. There is no accountability and even premier institutions have suffered. The violence has increased the rate of school dropouts as to run the family sometimes children had to work or simply child was overawed with the power of gun and was taken to arms training by various militant organisations. There have been cases where youth left education and took gun to avenge killings in the family. The female education has suffered too as the pressures of violence and security of the vulnerable species (females) forced many families to rest their daughters at home and closed the future educational prospects of many girls. But it is pertinent to mention here that the things have changed a lot, people are taking up the challenge of educating their daughters and there is a great improvement although a lot has to be done yet.

The health sector has also witnessed the brunt of violent conflict. The emergency services and the maternity services have received a serious setback.

The doctors and staff couldn't make it to reach the hospital often. The operation theatres are in disarray even now. The situation was even worse during night hours when reaching hospital itself was not safe for the fear of a stray bullet hitting anybody on mere suspicion by the army. Although hospitals have played a tremendous role in treating wounded and slithered victims of violence, but the specialty care was limited to certain city hospitals that too in the capital Srinagar. Often the patients breathed their last on the way to Srinagar. The doctors practiced in private clinics where patients are charged handsome money and the hospital OPDs are visited by people with minor illnesses. The maternity services also happen to be in tatters because of heavy army movement, firings, shutdowns snapped roads and burnt bridges. The same is the case with chronic illness of elders. Most of the times victims couldn't make it to reach the hospitals. The things got further out of hand when even running operation theatres and labour rooms were raided by security forces for suspected persons to be arrested. The people are suffering from ailments like hypertension, depression and psychological disorders like PTSD and often happen to be ignorant about their illness because of lack of any trauma centers in the valley.

The fear factor has prevailed into the lives of the people. The fear of losing lives, losing houses, losing children, losing property and business, losing honour have added up to make people sick and fearful of violence. Similarly the restricted movement, daily frisking and checking, the surprise detentions and disappearances, fake encounters have made the lives of people traumatic. The uncertainties in the lives of people have made them sick and suffer from various psychological disorders. The worst part is that even children have been not spared,

because most of the times they have witnessed violence being inflicted upon their family and people, which left permanent marks on their psyche.

The main agencies involved in violence are militants and government security forces, both have been involved in violence against common man, but it has been established that government forces have been mostly involved in blatant human rights violations of people. The militants mostly target government informers, politicians, civil servants, policemen and the renegades, but in the process the other members of the families also get fatal brushes with the violence. The security agencies particularly army, renegades, STF are involved in gross misconduct of their powers and added to this the special powers like AFSPA and DAA provide them the immunity against prosecution. The common man has been brutally and brazenly targeted and the cases of torture, interrogation and defilement of bodies from both the agencies involved in violence are a routine exercise.

The victims have been compensated mainly by the state government, but there is again a partisan approach when the families of militants are left out and are denied any compensation or relief on account of the anti state activities of the deceased. The state fails to identify that the survivors of the combatants are as much state subjects as any normal victimised family. The result is that these families and women in particular are left to face the vagaries of the violence resulting in further societal disorganization and chaos.

The final solution for the order to be maintained and violence to be stopped is the establishment of peace and there happen to be various opinions regarding the conflict resolution. But the best solution according to people happens to be the

following of the UN resolutions on the dispute and subsequent holding of the plebiscite. People have little faith in the governments of India and Pakistan who have used this issue for their own political interests from time to time for the past 50 years and thus the dialogues held between two countries happen to be futile for them. Given the military might and the nuclear status of the both countries the intervention from the super power to resolve the dispute again appears to be a bleak chance. It can be therefore, concluded that for establishment of the order in the region the peace has to be established at any cost and it will be the dawn of new phase of development, progress and freedom of the entire south Asian subcontinent. The suffering of people has to be ended all that needed is a strong political will of the contenders.

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Appendices

Appendix I
Militancy related violence in district Anantnag

S.No	Form of violence	No. Of Victims
1	Civilians killed by security forces/militants	1054
2	Rape cases by security forces/militants	03
3	Mass massacre cases	03
4	Fake encounters	01
5	Disappearances	11

Source Police records (SSP office Anantnag) July, 2007

Appendix II
Year wise Ex-Gratia Relief from Government to Victims of violence.

S. No	Year	No. Of Death Cases	Amount	No. Of Injured Cases	Amount	No. Of Property Damage Cases	Amount
1	1989-1990	10	250000 00	17	51000 00	51	217900 00-
2	1990-1991	33	3075000 00	21	48500 00	159	6308649 00
3	1991-1992	72	7200000 00	33	373500 00	152	9573387 00
4	1992-1993	58	5750000 00	23	277500 00	159	5372500 00
5	1993-1994	127	12700000 00	30	200000 00	89	6300000 00
6	1994-1995	98	9800000 00	85	1365000 00	126	3874818 00
7	1995-1996	181	18100000 00	68	1137500 00	88	7462500 00
8	1996-1997	203	20300000 00	137	1244000 00	130	8141447 00
9	1997-1998	211	21100000 00	70	1169000 00	160	8928198 00
10	1998-1999	86	8600000 00	50	924500 00	109	5688117 00
11	1999-2000	267	26700000 00	66	1173500 00	138	9526500 00
12	2000-2001	252	25975000 00	156	2637500 00	297	12718364 00
13	2001-2002	229	22900000 00	184	2626000 00	203	14242191 00
14	2002-2003	218	21800000 00	146	1253000 00	116	7222807 00
15	2003-2004	152	15200000 00	129	1075000 00	61	3725000 00
16	2004-2005	121	12100000 00	102	713000 00	39	2185467 00
17	2005-2006	84	8400000 00	73	406500 00	57	2521675 00
Grand Total		2402	239950000.00	1390	16675000.00	2134	114009520.00

Source Official Records at the District Commissioners office Anantnag (July,2007) Under A/C Head
2055-POL-117 Internal Security

Appendix III

Massacres in Kashmir since 1989

S. No	Place of Massacre	Date	Agency Involved	Number of Killings	Number of Injured	Nature
1	Gaw Kadal, Srinagar	21.01.1990	CRPF	32	32	Peaceful Demonstration
2	Alamgiri Bazar, Srinagar	22.01.1990	CRPF	100	16	Peaceful Demonstration
3	Zakura Bypass Crossing	01.03.1990	CRPF	30	15	Demonstrators fired
4	Hawal Srinagar	21.05.1990	CRPF	60	25	Moulvi Farooq's Funeral Procession
5	Naaz Cinema Rambagh Srinagar	19.01.1991	CRPF	10	17	
6	Khanyar Srinagar	08.05.1991	CRPF	19	59	Funeral Procession Fired
7	Aloosa Baramulla	12.09.1991	Army	15	250	Indiscriminate firing during search operation
8	Sopore	13.04.1992	BSF	13		
9	Baramulla	25.06.1992	Army	5	8	Protesting women fired
10	Harisingh, High street Srinagar	02.07.1992	CRPF	6	9	Tyre burst causing firing
11	Budgam	13.07.1992	Army	10	4	Indiscriminate firing
12	Sopore	19.09.1992	BSF	7	4	A ferry boat fired
13	Sopore	06.01.1993	BSF	45	16	BSF ran amuck
14	Lal Chowk Srinagar	10.04.1993	BSF	10	1	Gen Rao Visit
15	Sopore	14.04.1993	BSF	6	3	Student procession
16	Jammu (Jail)	27.04.1993	ITBP	4	13	Protesting inmates
17	Hangal Buch Pulwama	30.07.1993	Army	9	3	During search and cordon operation
18	Bijbehara Anantnag	22.10.1993	BSF	30	57	Peaceful protestors
19	Sopore	27.11.1993	Army	15	7	During search operation
20	Kupwara	27.01.1994	Army	18	39	Unprovoked firing
21	Mominabad and Ashjipora	18.03.1994	Army	7	13	Unprovoked firing
22	Mahind	19.03.1994	Army	6	3	Gunpowder sprinkled
23	Anantnag	29.06.2000	Unidentified Gunmen	12		Brick kiln workers from Bihar
24	Chattisinghpura Anantnag	20.03.2000	Unidentified Gunmen	35		Sikhs at their residence
25	Sheshnag Pahalgam	21.07.2001	Unidentified Gunmen	13		Including 7 Amarnath Pilgrims
26	Qazigund/Achabal Anantnag	01.08.2000	Unidentified Gunmen	27		Labours from Bihar
27	Mehjoor Nagar Srinagar	03.02.2001	Unidentified Gunmen	6		Sikhs in their vicinity
28	Nunwan Pahalgam	06.08.2002	Unidentified Gunmen	9		Amarnath Pilgrims
29	Nadimarg	24.03.2003	Unidentified	24		Kashmiri Pandits

Appendix IV
Major Human Rights violation complaints received by SHRC during PDP's 3
year Rule (02 Nov 2002 to 02 Nov 2005)

Crimes	No. Of Complaints
Rapes	7
Disappearances	210
Murder	35
Killing of Innocents	9
Death Inquiry	12
Death Compensation	26
Harassment	196
Custodial Killings	63

Source: Public Commission for Human Rights, Srinagar

Appendix V
Human Rights violations by Indian Armed Forces from January 1989 to
December 2006

Violation	Number
Total Killings	91,524
Custodial Killings	6,900
Houses/Shops Destroyed	1,05,353
Women Widowed	22, 495
Children Orphaned	1,06,861
Women Molested	9,688
Civilian Arrested	1,13,500

Source: APHC, Courtesy Kashmir Media Service

Appendix VI

Interview Schedule

Personal profile:

Name:	Address:
Age:	Gender:
Marital Status:	Religion:
No of children, if any:	Occupation:
Location: Rural/ Urban	Family size:
Monthly income:	

1. It is widely believed that one of the main agencies involved in violence “the militants earlier enjoyed the popular support. Do you agree?
(a) Yes (b) No
If yes, do you think that people still support militants and their actions?
(a) Strongly Agree (b) Agree (c) Undecided (d) Disagree (e) Strongly Disagree
2. How do you think people perceived struggle in the beginning?
(a) A struggle for freedom.
(b) A struggle for joining Pakistan, undermining Indian authority.
(c) A use less and illogical struggle, with certain elements having vested interest in it.
(d) Unjustified struggle not needed as Kashmiris were happy with India.
(e) A revolution from within to change the existing power structure.
3. After these long years of violence, how do you think people perceive the struggle now?
(a) Freedom struggle which ought to reach its end.
(b) Religious struggle.
(c) A state of anarchy (Indo-Pak Conflict).
(d) Vested interest of certain elements within the state.
(e) It is a war machine for army and paramilitary forces to mint money and they want to keep it continuing.
4. It often happens in conflict situations that the common victim of opposing forces is the common man. Have you ever been the victim of violence?
(a) Yes (b) No
If yes, what was the form of violence you were subjected to among the following:
(Tick the appropriate and feasible options)
(a) Interrogation
(b) Torture
(c) Outraging modesty
(d) Rape
(e) Physical Injury
(f) Threat
(g) Emotional suffering
5. Who among the following inflicted violence upon you? (Tick the appropriate and feasible options)
(a) Militants

- (b) Paramilitary forces
 - (c) Military
 - (d) Police / STF
 - (e) Intelligence agencies
 - (f) Pro government fighters (Ikhwan & MM)
6. What has been the commonest place where violence has been inflicted mostly upon the civilians among the following: (Tick the appropriate and feasible options)
- (a) Encounter sites
 - (b) Cordons
 - (c) Army camps
 - (d) Militant strong holds
 - (e) Ikhwan camps
 - (f) Villages
 - (g) City centres
7. Have you ever witnessed loss of life and property in these years of violence?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- If yes, what was the form of loss you suffered?
- (a) Property (b) Life (c) Business (d) a & b (e) a, b & c.
8. Do you know any case/cases where some people lost their life during this strife?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- If yes, how many such cases are known to you?
- (a) 1 case (b) 2 cases (c) 3 cases (d) Several cases (e) Heard only.
9. In case of unfortunate loss in your family/ relation/ friendship/ neighbourhood. What was the status of the deceased?
- (a) Earning hand (b) Dependent youth (c) Old dependent (d) Juvenile
- (e) No loss
10. Due to long period of violence, the family and weaker sections of the society are the worst affected parts of the society. In this context did you witness any change in the functions of the family?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- If yes,
- (i) Do you agree that the function of socialization of the members of the family has been affected after the changed social order?
- (a) Strongly Agree (b) Agree (c) Undecided (d) Disagree (e) Strongly Disagree
- (ii) Do you agree that the function of economic support to members of the family has been affected?
- (a) Strongly Agree (b) Agree (c) Undecided (d) Disagree (e) Strongly Disagree
- (iii) Do you agree that function of emotional security to the members of the family has been undermined?
- (a) Strongly Agree (b) Agree (c) Undecided (d) Disagree (e) Strongly Disagree
- (iv) Do you agree that family has failed somewhat to account for the basic educational attainment of its members?
- (a) Strongly Agree (b) Agree (c) Undecided (d) Disagree (e) Strongly Disagree
11. Does in your opinion violence besides having impact on the economy of the state have also impact on the economy of the family in any of the following terms.
- (a) Positive impact in terms of increase in Family wealth and amenities.
- (b) Negative impact in terms of deterioration in economic base of family and related amenities.

- (c) Negative impact in terms of deterioration of values but positive in terms if increase in wealth.
 - (d) Some well off families were ruined and some modest families amassed illegal wealth.
 - (e) No impact at all.
12. Do you think that the continuous violence has led to social disorganisation of the whole society leading to loss of community leadership and community control?
- (a) Strongly Agree (b) Agree (c) Undecided (d) Disagree (e) Strongly Disagree
13. It is said that war is the most acute form of social disorganisation. In your opinion has the past one and a half decade of violence resulted in family disorganisation in terms of loss of functions and authority?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- If yes, what form of disorganisation did you witness? (Tick the appropriate and feasible options)
- (a) The function of the family in terms of socialization, economic support and emotional support to its members has been undermined.
 - (b) The power and authority of the elders has been greatly reduced.
 - (c) There has been rise in intergenerational conflict.
 - (d) Family is experiencing increase in domestic violence.
 - (e) Increase in number of inter family and intrafamily disputes.
14. Usually in conflict situations, the educational sector is one of the worst affected areas. Did you witness any school dropout case/ cases during these years of violence?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- If yes, what in your opinion was the possible cause for it?
- (a) The family was badly hit by violence and educational expenses couldn't be met.
 - (b) The child was overawed by gun culture and left school being lured by militants to join them.
 - (c) Child left school and joined militants to avenge certain killings in the family by government forces.
 - (d) Children were never counselled/ guided or persuaded to join back the school.
 - (e) The schools remained mostly closed and it acted as a catalyst for the drop out.
15. Do you think that education has been affected in any of the following terms in the violence?
- (f) The schools were frequently closed due to violent clashes between militants and government forces.
 - (g) The shutdowns, cordons, protests led to frequent closure of schools sometimes for days.
 - (h) Daily frisking and checks by troops led to the absence of either teachers or students.
 - (i) The education was restricted to theory and the practical knowledge couldn't be imparted. As a result innovation and dynamics was stopped due to lack of basic infrastructure.
 - (j) Education system did suffer in the beginning, but mostly remained unaffected.
16. Do you agree that the educational prospects of women/ girl child suffered a setback in very recent past?
- (a) Strongly Agree (b) Agree (c) Undecided (d) Disagree (e) Strongly Disagree
17. The victims of violence whether militants, Police, counter insurgents or common man are mostly Kashmiris. The women have thus been doubly affected by violence both directly and indirectly as a mother, a sister, a daughter, a wife of the deceased. Do you agree?

- (a) Yes (b) No
 If yes, do you know any such woman who has become a widow during these years of violence?
 (a) 1 case (b) 2 cases (c) 3 cases (d) Several cases (e) Heard only.

18. In your opinion has the widows (of violence) been victimised in one or the other way among the following?
- (a) Subjected to indecent proposals or falsely ridiculed for being bad charactered.
 - (b) Suffered at the hands of in-laws.
 - (c) Sacrificed her desires to look after her children and even fulfilled the duties of her husband.
 - (d) Forced to remarry against her will.
 - (e) Have been victims of certain agencies
19. How do you think woman as a mother has suffered during these years of violence?
- (a) Woman suffered as a mother when her son was tortured by forces and left half dead.
 - (b) Woman as a mother felt devastated when she couldn't get the whereabouts of her son/sons even after years of their difference.
 - (c) Woman suffered as a mother when her son was picked up by army/militants and later killed.
 - (d) Woman suffered emotionally as a mother when her son was kept in long detention.
 - (e) Woman suffered as a mother when she witnessed multiple funerals in her house and led to her mental imbalance and diseases like depression and hypertension.
20. How do you think woman as a daughter suffered during these years of violence?
- (a) She lost her father who became a victim of violence, this affected her emotionally.
 - (b) She suffered being molested in front of her family members by government forces.
 - (c) She suffered as a member of the family as her father/ brother/ mother was tortured or killed in the continuing violence.
 - (d) She suffered as a daughter of a widow (of violence) who suffered same ordeal as her mother.
 - (e) She suffered as a daughter of a militant when their house was frequently searched by government forces and her modesty was outraged.
21. How do you think woman as a sister suffered during these years of violence?
- (a) She suffered as a sister when her brother/ brothers became the victims of violence and lost his/ their lives.
 - (b) She suffered as a sister of a militant who couldn't get suitable marriage proposals.
 - (c) She suffered as a sister who saw her brother being picked up by the army whose whereabouts could never be located.
 - (d) She suffered in cordons being beaten up brutally and later being detained for protesting against atrocities by the government forces.
 - (e) She suffered as a sister who was molested/ raped in front of her brother by armed forces.
22. The long arrests, disappearances and absenteeism from home has led to the half widow status of a lot of women. How do you think women have suffered in this regard? (Tick the appropriate and feasible options)
- (a) Many of them have got an uncertain future, they could neither seek divorce nor could remarry again suffering both physically and mentally.
 - (b) Developed illicit relations to run the family.

- (c) Became a burden on in-laws and family of orientation.
 - (d) Are living a life of abandon looking after their children.
 - (e) Got remarried to some other person only to know at a later stage that her previous husband was alive.
23. One of the prime responsibility and duty of the family has been the marriage of girls (daughters). Do you think this function of the family has been impeded by the ongoing violence in any of the following ways?
- (a) There have been some undeserving and unusual proposals from gun yielding men and the family had to succumb to such pressures.
 - (b) Sometimes girl herself ran away with the gunman.
 - (c) Sometimes the girls have been the victims of rape and molestation closing prospects of their compatible marriage.
 - (d) Girl herself eloped with the boy friend defying family authority.
 - (e) The family has lost its authority and girls mostly take decision of marriage themselves.
24. Health sector in conflict areas is the most sought after service and in pressing demand. Do you think violence acted as an impediment in availing health services and facilities available to common man, particularly women?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- If yes, do you think that emergency services particularly related to health, accident, chronic disease and in relation to elderly people couldn't be availed by people because of disruption of service due to violence?
- (a) Strongly Agree (b) Agree (c) Undecided (d) Disagree (e) Strongly Disagree
25. Do you think that women have not been able to avail emergency services especially maternity services particularly in rural areas, reason being either burnt bridges, non availability of transport in night, checks and cordons by army, firing etc.
- (a) Yes (b) No
- If yes,
- (i) How many cases you know where army movement, cordons, checks and cross firings have been the cause of delayed / impeded maternity service benefits leading to loss of life?
- (a) 1 case (b) 2 cases (c) 3 cases (d) Several cases (e) Heard only.
- (ii) How many cases you know where burnt bridges, snapped roads and non availability of transport delayed/ impeded availing of maternity services by women and resulted in loss of life?
- (a) 1 case (b) 2 cases (c) 3 cases (d) Several cases (e) Heard only.
26. Do you agree that violence has affected women in particular in terms of their free movement, role performance and economic activity?
- (a) Strongly Agree (b) Agree (c) Undecided (d) Disagree (e) Strongly Disagree
27. The continuous violence, movement of army and militants has restricted movement of local people and induced fear in them. Do you agree?
- (a) Yes (b) No
28. Do you agree that there has been unhealthy transfer of role from one status to another status?
- (a) Strongly Agree (b) Agree (c) Undecided (d) Disagree (e) Strongly Disagree
29. Recently there have been cases of fake encounters and disappearances reported in the national and international media. Do you know any kind of such incident?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- If yes, how many such cases of fake encounters are known to you?
- (a) 1 case (b) 2 cases (c) 3 cases (d) Several cases (e) Heard only.

- How many cases of disappearances are known to you?
 (a) 1 case (b) 2 cases (c) 3 cases (d) Several cases (e) Heard only.
30. Usually in conflict situation, there is excessive use of brute force against common people by various agencies. Do you agree that people have been subjected to atrocities by government forces (Police, Para Military, Military and Ikhwan)?
 (a) Strongly Agree (b) Agree (c) Undecided (d) Disagree (e) Strongly Disagree
31. There have been a number of militant organisations/ groups operative in valley. Who do you think is the most influential among the following? (Tick the appropriate and feasible options)
 (a) Hizbul Mujahidin
 (b) JKLF
 (c) Lashkar-i-Toiba
 (d) Hezbollah
 (e) Al-Badr
 (f) Al-Nasr
 (g) Kashmir Tigers
 (h) Taliban-e- Kashmir
 (i) Al- Mansureen
32. There have been cases where militants have been responsible for kidnappings, torture, physical abuse and killings of people. How do you account for that? (Tick the appropriate and feasible options)
 (a) They are rational in their action and target only government informers.
 (b) They only target people having connection with government forces.
 (c) Mostly they target STF personnel, Ikhwan, MM cadre and politicians acting against the cause.
 (d) They have targeted common man using threat, kidnapping, asking for ransom, humiliating women especially young girls, killing innocent people for one or the other reason, besides acting against government agents and informers.
33. There have been innumerable operations carried out by government forces. Who among the following do you suggest has the most interfering role? (Tick the appropriate and feasible options)
 (a) Police
 (b) STF
 (c) Para Military forces
 (d) Ikhwan
 (e) Muslim Mujahidin (MM)
 (f) Military/ Army
 (g) Intelligence Agencies
34. The common has been inflicted to violence by both government forces (Military, Paramilitary, STF and Ikhwan) and militants as well. What is the infliction rate of agencies as per your view?
 (a) Government forces: 90%/ Militants : 10%
 (b) Government forces: 75%/ Militants : 25%
 (c) Government forces: 50%/ Militants : 50%
 (d) Government forces: 75%/ Militants : 25%
 (e) Government forces: 10%/ Militants : 90%
35. There have been reports of individual disorganisation like increased drug use by youth in recent years. What do you think is the possible reason for this development?
 (a) Youth have been often victimised by gun yielding men (militants/ government forces) and they found drugs appealing to forget their traumatic experiences.

- (b) They have been subjected to drugs (Charas/ narcotics/ wine) by government agencies to dissuade them from militant tendencies.
 - (c) They have been subjected to drugs by militants who try to generate funds from this profitable business.
 - (d) The increased unemployment has led to frustration among youth, who find drugs appealing to calm themselves.
 - (e) Youth find drugs appealing to feel cool and hip among their peers.
36. Do you know any case/ cases where a victim of violence has been compensated during these years of violence?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- If yes, how many such cases are known to you?
- (a) 1 case (b) 2 cases (c) 3 cases (d) Several cases (e) Heard only.
- Who has been the compensating agency?
- (a) Government (b) Army (c) Militants (d) Hurriyat (APHC) (e) NGOs
37. What in your opinion should be the road map to end this violence?
- (a) The only way out is the plebiscite based on UN resolutions
 - (b) Local people should cooperate with government forces to bring militants to the book
 - (c) The peace talks between India and Pakistan is a positive step and such types of initiatives need to be carried on which will ultimately pave for peace
 - (d) The India and Pakistan are not motivated enough to resolve the conflict, it is only intervention by some super power which can end the conflict
 - (e) The people should motivate the militants to drop the gun and should work in non violent ways towards the end they want to pursue and this way peace will be assured